FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-90-193
Thursday
4 October 1990

Daily Report
Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-90-193

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Shevardnadze Says German Unity Spurs Stability

LD0310201390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Report from New York by special correspondent Andrey Ptashnikov on the European Security and Cooperation Conference, including remarks by USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze]

[Text] Taking part in the conference were the foreign ministers of 33 European states, and also the United States and Canada. All of them made statements in which they reflected the positions of their countries' governments on the most pressing questions of the present-day situation.

A joint communique was approved which notes that the ministers have examined progress in preparing an all-European summit meeting in Paris, with the United States and Canada taking part. They approved its agenda. Just as was planned, the meeting will take place from 19 to 21 November this year. By this date the treaty on conventional armaments in Europe must be ready for signing. The ministers expresed the hope that a set of other substantial confidence and security building measures would be adopted in Paris. The communique also welcomes the signing of a treaty on a final settlement with regard to Germany, which, in the ministers' view, is an important contribution to stability, cooperation, and unity in Europe.

At the New York conference one more document was adopted: A statement on the crisis in the Persian Gulf. In it the ministers of 35 states fully associate themselves with the condemnation by the United Nations Organization of Iraq's invasion and occupation of Kuwait. They called on the government of Iraq to withdraw its troops from Kuwait without delay and unconditionally.

After the meeting, USSR Foreign Minister Comrade Shevardnadze gave an interview to Soviet television and radio correspondents. He stressed in particular that the discussions which have taken place and the decisions which were made at them again show that the government of a new Europe is indeed begining, and that the structure of its security is taking shape. Now it is already possible to speak not of confrontation, but of cooperation between the two military-political alliances existing on the European continent.

Having broached the question of the unification of Germany, Comrade Shevardnadze said:

[Begin Shevardnadze recording] It would be fair and objective for us to congratulate the German people on this decisive event. I believe, I know, that many will argue with me, and I understand what everyone's mood is because the heritage is a very painful and complicated one, and there are very difficult memories. However, I believe that a most serious hotbed of conflict is being eliminated in Europe, because by removing the division of Germany, we assist in the formation of a new Europe, of new relations, of new peaceful relations between all states in Europe. I am profoundly convinced that Germany, a united Germany, will become a member of precisely such a new and peaceful Europe. [end recording]

In conclusion, I will inform you that the fourth meeting in the past few days between Comrade Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker is now taking place in New York. As far as we journalists know, in particular the last details of the Treaty on Conventional Armaments in Europe will be agreed upon.

Shevardnadze Interviewed on Changing UN Role

LD0310174890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1610 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] New York, 3 Oct (TASS)—There are probably several factors that have influenced the present increase in the United Nation's activity and the enhancement of its role in world affairs, E.A. Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, stated in an interview with Soviet television correspondents Vladimir Zvyagin and TASS correspondents Yuriy Kirilchenko, Vladimir Matyash, and Georgiy Shmelev. Of these factors, I would like to single out the following two: the "cold war" has ended—the world and mankind are entering a new, peaceful period in their development. It is perfectly natural that under these conditions that the importance of the United Nations and its special role and place in resolving international problems is rising significantly. As for the second factor, I am referring to the crisis situation that has developed in the Persian Gulf. Thus, I would say we have a certain contradictory state of affairs in the world. On the one hand, a new phase in world development has been defined and new relations are being established among the states of the world, while on the other hand, this complex crisis situation has been caused by Iraq's aggression against Kuwait. I want to say, without exaggerating, that all hopes today are being placed on the United Nations and its activity in resolving this problem. I cannot fail to note that both the United Nations and the Security Council, and the world community as a whole, have risen to the occasion in this complicated situation. I am thinking of their appropriate reaction to the events that have occurred and their appropriate actions in response to them.

To back up my words I could refer to the prevailing moods and feelings of the participants at the present United Nations General Assembly [UNGA] session. I have witnessed such moods myself. In the first place, one can observe moods on the whole not only condemning aggression, but no less importantly, showing the readiness of countries, members of this world organization, to act jointly, which allows one to count on, to hope, that peace will be preserved. This is probably my main impression about the work of the present UNGA session.

One other point: I have already had occasion to speak about this, but I must say it once more. Many heads of state and government, eminent public and political figures, all of us have raised and attentively examined anew the UN Charter, with great advantage for ourselves on this occasion. It seems that the people who drew up this charter were very wise, E.A. Shevardnadze noted. Everything necessary is incorporated in it; all conditions and provisions have been defined to preserve peace and life on the planet. The charter very thoroughly defines the functions of the Security Council and other specialized UN institutions and establishments and their capability to and possibility of acting effectively and decisively in the necessary cases.

The meeting of the CSCE foreign ministers participating in preparing an all-European summit in Paris has just ended, the Soviet minister noted. This was a preparatory meeting on a very imposing level. In its turn this was preceded by much preparatory work at the level of experts and working groups. So we, the foreign ministers of 33 European countries, the United States of America, and Canada, gathered in New York to examine the progress in preparing the Paris summit. This, by the way, was the first such CSCE meeting held in the United States. In principle I can say, the minister continued, that the Paris meeting is prepared, we have confirmed the agenda and adopted two interesting documents: the communique of the New York meeting and the statement concerning the crisis in the Persian Gulf region. I must note that we have formed a good mutual understanding on the problems of the all-European institutions it is proposed to form in Paris. I want to list them in brief, primarily to show that in Paris a new stage in building a new Europe is beginning.

In the first instance, a treaty on reducing conventional weapons in Europe will be signed at the Paris meeting. It is true, I have to say plainly, that not all the questions have been resolved here yet. However, my meeting with U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker will take place and I am certain that solutions to the unresolved problems will be found. Further, one must presume that a decision will be made in Paris on continuing the talks on the further reduction of conventional weapons and on the start of talks to remove tactical nuclear weapons.

Apart from this, in New York we succeeded in designating many important guidelines for the development of the all-European processes. I would also like to note that our proposal on the need to consider and endorse a declaration on the NATO-Warsaw Pact and on the new mutual relations between these two alliances enjoys support. The declaration enshrines the fundamentally new situation in relations between these groupings—relations of cooperation and not confrontation, the minister stressed.

One has to presume, he continued, that a decision will be made in Paris on such all-European summits being held on a regular basis, for example once every two or three years. It is very important to endorse the decision on setting up a center to avert conflicts and on forming a small standing secretariat to deal with organizational matters, and the decision that some other institutions and establishments will be set up. It is possible to count on the meeting leading to a view on establishing a kind of all-European assembly, possibly on the basis of the existing functioning European Parliament or possibly on another basis.

In conclusion, I would like to stress that the matter has concerned, and will concern, the construction of a truly new Europe and the assertion of relations that are new in principle between the states of the continent.

At our meeting in New York the leaders of the foreign policy departments of 35 countries welcomed the treaty on a final settlement over Germany, the Soviet minister continued. Nationwide festivities on the occasion of the country's unification will also be held in Germany. I have already had occasion more than once to express my views on this issue, inter alia in the USSR Supreme Soviet and in the Supreme Soviet's Foreign Affairs Committee. I am absolutely certain that the decision adopted by the great powers in the context of the two-plus-four mechanism is the only right and completely correct one and was made for the natural and painless process of German unification. Thus it would be correct and justified to congratulate the German people, the German nation, on this historic event. I expect that not everybody will agree with me on this, but I am absolutely convinced, the minister emphasized, that the formation of a unified Germany eliminates a very serious hotbed of tension in Europe, that an important contribution has thus been made to the cause of stability, cooperation, and unity on the continent, and to the materialization of the plan for constructing a new and peaceful Europe, E.A. Shevardnadze said in conclusion.

Moscow TV Interviews Shevardnadze

LD0310205890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1840 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Interview with USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze by unidentified reporter in New York; date not given; in the "Topical Interview" program—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Eduard Amvrosiyevich, over the past few days we have pursued with great attention and interest the important political events here in New York. What, in your view, explains such high level of political activeness on the part of many representatives of states who have arrived here to attent both the UN session and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe?

[Shevardnadze] One must probably bear in mind several fractors. We have, in particular, seen two elements: First, the cold war has come to an end; the world and mankind have entered a peaceful period of development. It is natural that in such a situation and against this kind of backdrop the United Nations Organization, this organization, should have a special role and a special place. This, surely, is the first thing.

The second thing is the crisis situation that has now taken shape in the Persian Gulf—that is to say, a kind of contradictory state of affairs in the world where, on the one hand, we have indeed entered a new stage of development—and I wish to state this without exaggeration, these new relations among states—but, on the other hand, on the other hand, we have a most complex situation that has taken shape in the Persian Gulf in connection with Iraq's aggression against Kuwait.

To be forthright, all hopes are now being placed on the United Nations organizations. I want to say, since I have come to hold a firm conviction here, that the United Nations, and the Security Council in particular, along with the entire world community, have risen to the occasion; that is to say, appropriate action was forthcoming both from the Security Council and from the organization itself.

This is being demonstrated. At the General Assembly session we had the opportunity to listen and observe what mood prevailed—I will say outright—not only of condemnation of the aggression and of the aggressor, but also a readiness to act, to act jointly to save peace and save the very great gains we have already mentioned. That is to say: The cold war is over and the world is entering a new period in its development, a peaceful period of development.

This is the main impression. One more thing. You know, I had to speak, and my colleagues had to speak. There were very many heads of states, presidents, prime ministers, etc, leaders, well-known politicians. All of us had to pick up once more and perhaps study anew the Charter of the United Nations Organization. This is, perhaps, something of a platitude, so to speak, but I would say: Truly wise people drew up the Charter. Everything that is necessary for ensuring peace and a peaceful life on our planet, all this has been enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, including a definition of the functions of the Security Council and of the appropriate institutions that must act boldly, decisively if a crisis situation arises in some region or other of the world.

[Reporter] An all-European summit on matters of security and cooperation in Europe is scheduled for November in Paris. Fifteen years have already elapsed since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. The situation on our continent has changed radically, and as many observers believe, this will be the most important meeting at such a level during the entire postwar history between the leaders of European states, the United States, and Canada. What can you say in this connection?

[Shevardnadze] The foreign ministers' conference was devoted to the Paris summit, as you know—you participated, in essence. Our conference was preceded by a great deal of preparatory work, in the relevant institutions and groups of experts, so we, the ministers from the 35 states, assembled to somehow sum up that preliminary work. I have to say that the summit has been prepared in principle, if I may put it that way. Today we approved the agenda, meaning a list of the problems that will become the subject of discussion by the heads of the European states, with the participation of Canada and the United States of America. We have good mutual understanding in respect of the pan-European institutions that will be formed after the conference and by the decision of this summit. I would like to enumerate them to show that the construction of a new Europe is indeed beginning and that security structures are indeed taking shape.

First, an agreement on conventional arms cuts will be signed at the conference. Admittedly, not all issues have yet been resolved. That is the basis of the agenda for the conference itself. Tomorrow I will have a long conversation with the secretary of state and then with my other counterparts. I am confident that we will find solutions to those issues still without agreement. That is the first thing.

Second, I am confident that a decision will be adopted at the conference on continuing the negotiations on further reductions of conventional weapons and armed forces and on starting negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons. Undoubtedly, we have marked out the main guidelines in principle. An agreed document on the present state of Europe and the prospects for the development of the pan-European process will be approved and published in the name of the heads of state. I think the heads of state will support the view expressed by the ministers that they have examined and approved a declaration between the member states of the Warsaw Pact and the North Atlantic pact and new relations between the two alliances. It means not confrontation, but cooperation, between the two alliances—that is what it is about.

A decision will be adopted to the effect that summits should be convened on a regular basis, approximately once every two or three years, so that the foreign ministers' forum is a standing one; that a center for averting conflict situations in Europe should be established; and that a standing secretariat, small in size, to deal with all the organizational affairs and organizational issues should be formed.

I am confident that there will be agreement on forming an all-European parliament, perhaps on the basis of the existing one, or else some sort of new parliament—but there is, in principle, at any rate at the level of foreign ministers, a good understanding on this issue.

I want to conclude thus: The point does, indeed, revolve around the construction of a new Europe and new relations among the European states and new relations between the West and the East.

[Reporter] Perhaps one more question, in conclusion. It is one that, naturally, concerns many of our fellow citizens. It is the question of what the new Germany brings to the new stage in its development. This is because this conference here in New York, the European security conference of 35 ministers, has been termed by the U.S. media as the conference on Germany's unification, apparently meaning that this question was, in one way or another, an invisible presence in the course of numerous meetings, multilateral and bilateral alike. Your viewpoint on what Germany brings to the new stage of its development and our attitude toward that.

[Shevardnadze] I have had to express my views, my attitudes regarding this, including in the Supreme Soviet and the Committee for International Affairs, and I have no doubt that Europe, the European states, including the great powers involved in the two-plus-four mechamism, have made the only true and correct decision in having created the necessary conditions so that the process of the unification of Germany and the building of German unity could take place painlessly and in normal conditions. That is what is happening and I think it would be fair and objective to congratulate the German people on this supreme event.

I believe—and I know that many people will argue with me and I understand their moods because the heritage is a very grave one, a complicated one, and the reminiscences are extremely painful—but I think that an extremely serious flashpoint of conflict is being eliminated in Europe, because in getting rid of the division of Germany we are promoting the formation of a new Europe, of new relations, new peaceful relations between all the states in Europe. Germany, a united Germany will—it is my profound conviction—become a member of precisely such a new and peaceful Europe.

[Reporter] Eduard Amvrosiyevich, thank you very much for your interesting conversation, and on behalf of our television viewers allow me to wish you both health and happiness.

[Shevardandze] Thank you.

Ambassador Deryabin Outlines CSCE Summit Plans

PM0310114990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Oct 90 Second Edition p 5

[Report by correspondent I. Melnikov: "Under the 'Paris Star'"]

[Text] Vienna—This fall's international meetings with a bearing on the problems of security and cooperation on our continent are being held under the "Paris star." This star—in other words, the November all-European summit meeting—and how lucky it will be largely depends on the forums that precede it.

Precisely 35 emissaries have just left the Austrian capital for New York, where a meeting of foreign ministers of the states participating in the Helsinki process will take place 1-2 October. Each of them represents his own country on the preparatory committee of the all-European conference, and each one will brief the head of his foreign policy department on the state of affairs.

On the eve of his flight out of Vienna, Ambassador Yuriy Deryabin, head of the USSR preparatory committee delegation, said in conversation with PRAVDA's correspondent:

"Businesslike work is being done on the 'blueprints' for Paris. All the partners are aware of the significance of the all-European meeting. Approximately 50 ideas and proposals have already gone into our joint bag."

Listening to the ambassador, I imagined how the scrupulous elaboration of seemingly routine yet essential details is combined with the quest for and formation of new security and cooperation structures. There is the three-stage mechanism of regular political consultations: at the levels of state leaders, foreign ministers, and their special representatives. There is the all-European parliamentary forum. There is the center for the prevention and settlement of conflicts, which will tackle both military and political aspects of security.

In short, a very impressive range of major political decisions is being outlined for Paris. They include the Treaty on Conventional Arms in Europe and accords on new confidence- and security-building measures.

In the conversation the ambassador dwelt in particular on the draft declaration on relations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states, now being prepared in Vienna. Work is being conducted on the basis of the three versions submitted by the Soviet Union, the 16 NATO countries, and Hungary. Each of them sets the aim of consolidating the transition from long-standing confrontation to partnership.

"This makes it possible," the Soviet delegation head emphasized, "to move rapidly toward each other on the basis of a carefully weighed balance of interests. We have already agreed on more than half of the text of the future declaration. If all the talks participants continue to take account of each other's priorities, then I am sure that the declaration will be ready for signing in Paris."

Favorable Prospects Seen for CSCE Development

LD0310222490 Moscow TASS in English 2205 GMT
3 Oct 90

[By TASS news analyst Albert Balebanov]

[Text] Moscow October 4 TASS—A two-day meeting of the foreign ministers of the states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) was held in New York. Its main result was the decision to convene the second 35-nation CSCE summit in Paris on November 19-21, 1990.

Judging by the present state of East-West relations, one may hope that this forum will be a historic milestone in the development of the process evolved in Helsinki in 1975. There are enough grounds for this statement. Take, for instance, such a major event as the unification of the two German states. Certainly, it would have been impossible without the close East-West interaction.

On the other hand, the emergence of the single and powerful German state calls for building new structures of security and cooperation in Europe. The undelayed convocation of the CSCE summit is explained exactly by this vital need.

There is no doubt that European agreements on disarmament, including on reducing conventional armed forces and armaments, lowering the level of nuclear confrontation, a total ban on chemical and other types of weapons of mass destruction should form the basis of the future security structures.

Prospects for shaping new security structures look cheering because participants in the New York meeting came to the conclusion that agreements on these key issues can be reached.

The creation of permanent CSCE working bodies should be another aspect of the evolving structures. Proposals were made to institutionalize the CSCE process by holding regular meetings of the leaders of the participating countries and of their foreign ministers, creating a CSCE secretariat and a parliamentary assembly of Europe.

For its part, the Soviet Union proposes as a priority measure to set up a CSCE centre for the prevention of conflicts. This centre is sorely needed by the European peoples against a backdrop of sweeping changes in the military and political situation in Europe.

The very fact of the holding of the CSCE forum in the United States is of immense importance to the future of this process. Only recently, many countries criticised the United States for its sceptical attitude to the CSCE and even mistrust in it.

However, changes in the Soviet Union and other East European countries as well as the end of the cold war forced Washington to revise its attitude to Europe. This is borne out by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker's statement, solemnly confirming the United States' commitment to the CSCE.

All this enables one to conclude that after the New York meeting, prospects for the development of the Helsinki process became more favourable than previously. On the other hand, the results of the New York meeting inspire hope for a success of the forthcoming Paris CSCE summit, on the outcome of which specific forms and pace of our continent's movement along the road of building a new European home will hinge.

Accords Leading to Paris CSCE Summit Viewed

LD0310190490 Moscow TASS in English 1806 GMT 3 Oct 90

[By TASS political writer Vladimir Chernyshev]

[Text] Moscow October 3 TASS—A decision has been made to convene a summit of the 35-nation Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), involving the heads of state and government of 33 European countries, the United States and Canada, in Paris on November 19-21, 1990.

This exceptionally important forum will take place largely thanks to the understandings reached by James Baker and Eduard Shevardnadze in the field of conventional force reductions in Europe and at the meetings of all foreign ministers of the countries participating in the Vienna talks.

Most observers and participants in the talks on Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) are known to have expressed serious concern over the state of things in Vienna. Differences on several fundamental issues were holding up progress there.

It seemed that the stalemate could not be broken. At the same time, Washington did not agree to go to the Paris summit without a treaty on conventional forces in Europe that would be ready for signature.

The statement by the Soviet and U.S. foreign ministers that the time had come to complete the elaboration of the treaty by the time of the Paris summit signalled a genuine breakthrough.

Why has this promising forecast been made? First and foremost, because solutions were found to such important problems as a treaty for each group of states on the remaining levels of tanks, armoured vehicles, artillery and helicopters. Sufficiency ceilings (the maximum level of armaments) were established for each country separately.

As solutions to many problems, which caused the Vienna talks to skid, were found, a system of European security begins to come into view, under which a balance of armed forces would be maintained not only in the entire area from the Atlantic to the Urals, but also in each separate region of the continent, for instance, in Central Europe, in the "rear" and on the northern and southern "flanks." Criteria are under development that would rule out the dangerous concentration of troops in any of the European sub-regions.

Life introduced substantive changes into the military-political situation in Europe and talks clearly found themselves lagging behind developments, which complicated the negotiating process.

Specialists have estimated that the unification of the two Germanys, the eventual transition of the former German Democratic Republic from one military-political bloc to the other, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary and Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union's commitment to abolish its Western Group of troops within three to four years changes the correlation of forces in the West's favour by a factor of two to one.

The task was to take into account these changes and to make sure that the treaty be mindful of the realities. Luckily, the efforts succeeded—the sides found mutually acceptable solutions.

Are there any other disputable issues? Yes, solutions were not found for all problems. But their number is not so large as to banish the possibility of accomplishing the task set—to bring to logical fruition the elaboration of the treaty before the Paris summit.

Observers Roundtable Program Focuses on Gulf

LD3009190190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 30 Sep 90

["International Observers Roundtable" program with presenter Gennadiy Aleksandrovich (Vedenyapin), not further identified; Nikolay Agayants, all-Union radio foreign policy commentator; and Yuriy Kornilov, TASS political observer]

[Excerpts] [(Vedenyapin)] I suggest we start our conversation by discussing the situation in the Persian Gulf. This situation remains difficult, but last week saw an important event.

[Kornilov] Yes, Gennadiy Aleksandrovich. Following the joint condemnation of Iraqi aggression against Kuwait at the Soviet-U.S. summit in Helsinki, and following the statements on the issue made during a whole series of bilateral talks, including the Moscow-Paris and Moscow-Rome talks, another major political and diplomatic demarche has been made. Last Tuesday, 25 September, the UN Security Council adopted a virtually unanimous decision on an air blockade of Iraq. This is further confirmation of the unity of member-states of the international community—a unity unprecedented in the entire postwar period—in their resistance to aggression.

[Agayants] I would like to add that it is not only the unity of these states that has been displayed, but also their determination to take action—to take action firmly and without delay—in the name of the triumph of justice and law.

[Kornilov] The UN Security Council decision has been made during this difficult and crucial period in the development of international affairs. Indeed, hardly had the cold war departed than the black storm clouds of aggression against Kuwait darkened the glimmer on the horizon, threatening the good prospects that were beginning to open up the community and the world. We can take satisfaction today in saying that, in the hour of trial, the United Nations has withstood the test.

In the entire history of international relations, no country has even been the object of such all-embracing and decisive sanctions from the international community as is Iraq today wrote the French newspaper LE MONDE on 27 September. This is correct. The clear evaluation of Iraq's conduct is a guarantee that the United Nations can cope with this most dangerous international crisis.

[Vedenyapin] I think, Yuriy Emmanuilovich, that one should make particular mention of the fact that in voting for the resolution on an air blockade of Iraq, the representatives of many UN member-states stressed that there can be no retreat, that the aggression must be halted. To that end, it is primarily political levers that should be used completely and in full, in combination with economic enforcement measures. The Soviet Union backs this stand, and will continue to do so. At the same time, the international press points out that the USSR, staying on realistic ground, is also in favor of stepping up the work of the UN Security Council's Military Staff Committee. The USSR stresses its readiness—alongside other countries—to conclude appropriate agreements with the UN Security Council so that structures and forces can set up within the United Nations aimed at fighting aggression.

[Kornilov] The prospect of setting up structures and forces such as these appears particularly important because, as the fact show, the threat of aggression and flouting of the UN Charter have by no means been eradicated in the today's world. These prospects are important because no matter how justified the unilateral military-political actions of individual states are—and it is appropriate here to recall that no fewer than 25 countries have sent troop contingents to the conflict zone—but no matter how justified the actions of these countries are, they evoke an ambiguous reaction and may not be acceptable to all. At the same time, nobody can have grounds for objecting to the actions of legitimate international law enforcement bodies, such as the Security Council and the Military Staff Committee. Bodies such as these could, I think, do a great deal to bring about a world in which, to cite President Bush, the triumph of law will replace the law of the jungle.

[Agayants] Quite true. In unleashing aggression, Baghdad set itself in opposition to practically the whole international community. Incidentally, the joint statement by the USSR and the European Community member-countries made in the United Nations on Thursday may serve as further evidence of that. This is an unprecedented event. The key provision of the joint Soviet-U.S. statement adopted in Helsinki is thereby confirmed: Aggression cannot and will not bring advantages.

[Kornilov] Against this background, Nikolay Ivanovich, Baghdad's position appears even more provocative. Its calls for a holy war, which are rejected in the Arab World, its threats to inflame a huge conflagration, the seizure and detention of hostages, the assault on foreign embassies located in Kuwait—it is indeed hard to fit these and similar actions not only into international legality, but also into sensible policy.

[Agayants] It is also hard to fit into those bounds the fact that Iraq has concentrated on its border with Saudi Arabia a 430,000-strong army and is known to be continuing to build up these forces. Add to this the fact that, as is now wholly clear, the annexation of Kuwait has made acutely more difficult the solution of other problems existing in the region, including the Palestinian problem, if only by diverting public attention from these problems.

[Kornilov] As for the threats proceeding from Baghdad to inflame a huge conflagration, statements such as these are not merely bellicose rhetoric. I think one should not underestimate them. The situation is continuing to deteriorate. It is not without justification that U.S. Defense Secretary Cheney last Thursday reiterated his warning that Iraq could resort to military force. There is no doubt that if events—heaven forbid—get out of control, this threatens to bring no small misfortunes upon the region and will create a serious threat to the world as a whole.

This is indeed the case, but there is another side to the matter which, I think, the initiators of the aggression should certainly not forget. This is, in turning the course of events to the worst, the greatest misfortunes will undoubtedly fall upon Iraq itself. This is why today there is every ground for stressing that in continuing its aggressive line, Baghdad is threatening not only others, but also itself. It is acting at variance not only with the UN Charter and with the generally accepted norms of international law and the interests of the Arab world, but it is also acting first and foremost at variance with the vital national interests of the people of Iraq. It is acting with not a single chance of the adventure it has embarked upon achieving final success.

[(Vedenyapin)] Colleagues, let us return to the East River skyscraper housing UN Headquarters. Speaking from the rostrum of the General Assembly, Eduard Amvrosyevich Shevardnadze said that we are addressing the Iraqi leadership, as he put it, as old friends, calling upon it to think again and to submit to the demands not only of the law, but also of common sense. In this context, the mention of old friendship is justified. Speaking frankly, however, friendship with a dictator and supplying arms to that dictator previously did not do us credit, to put it midly. Today there can be no mention of any possibility of such friendship.

[Agayants] No one speaks of any such thing. Speaking at the General Assembly session, Shevardnadze declared without beating about the bush that, and I quote, Iraq committed unprovoked aggression, annexed a sovereign neighboring state, and committed an act of terrorism against the emergent new world order. I may point out that many Western media stress, with satisfaction, our minister's harsh tone.

[Kornilov] This is indeed true. What Shevardnadze said at the rostrum of the session was said strongly and excludes any ambiguity of interpretation whatsoever. Our country once again stresses with all determination its readiness to do everything possible to prevent world civilization from rolling backwards.

[Kornilov] You should agree that against this background it looks all the more strange that a Soviet-Iraq treaty on friendship and cooperation, signed 18 years ago in Baghdad on 9 April 1972, exists to the present day and is thus also formally in operation.

[Agayants] Once again what sets one's teeth on edge is the term friendship.

[Kornilov] This is what the treaty we are speaking about is officially called. In its preamble it is stated that the sides are firmly convinced that, and I quote, the further development of friendship and cooperation between the two countries is in the national interests of both states, serves the purpose of peace in the world as a whole and in the Arab countries, is in the interests of the freedom of the peoples and security, and is in respect of sovereignty, end quote. Does this all not sound absurd now when Iraq is continuing to occupy Kuwait and has made it the object of shameless robbery? Has Baghdad not destroyed those clauses in the treaty in which the USSR and Iraq pledge sincerity to the aims and principles of the UN Charter and state their conviction to the fact that all international problems should be resolved by cooperation and searching for mutually acceptable solutions?

[(Vedenyapin)] Yes, these postulates really have now been made worthless by Baghdad's aggression.

[Agayants] Of course, the thought has already been expressed in our press that this treaty should be suspended, if not denounced altogether.

[(Vedenyapin)] Yes, such opinions have been expressed in the press and among the public, but so far without any results.

[Kornilov] Meanwhile, under the conditions which have currently taken shape, where Iraq has placed itself in opposition to the world community, it is difficult to speak seriously about implementing this treaty at all. Let us recall, for example, that one of the articles in the document—Article 10 to be precise—states that neither side will take part in activities or measures directed against another side with which agreements have been signed. However, in carrying out the UN Security Council resolution on sanctions, we are participating in precisely these types of measures, but we are acting quite correctly both from an international legal point of view and from a moral point of view. But if the fulfillment of the main clauses of the treaty, through Baghdad's fault—I stress, entirely through the fault of Baghdad—has become impossible, why should our diplomats not say this out loud? They should stress that we are prepared to resume good relations and cooperation if the Iraqi leadership does heed the voice of reason and does not aggravate the dangerous situation it has created, and, together with the USSR and other UN member-countries, actively seeks and finds a way out of the impasse.

[Agayants] Yuriy Emmanuilovich, this would seem to be a logical continuation of the well-defined and clear policy which our country has followed since the very beginning of the events in the Persian Gulf.

[(Vedenyapin)] Should it be supposed that this will occur in the final analysis?

[Kornilov] Yes, this should be supposed, especially since the statements which have been made recently in connection with the crisis in the Persian Gulf at the USSR Supreme Soviet session, by the U.S. Congress, and last week at the united nations general assembly session stress quite clearly that there can only be one way out of the crisis—the return to Kuwait of the status which it had on 2 August. [passage omitted]

[Kornilov] This is confirmed, Gennadiy Aleksandrovich, by the recent trip to our country by a group of eminent American businessmen, headed by U.S. Secretary of Commerce Mosbacher. One of the guests, as the famous American journalist James Flanagan writes in THE LOS ANGELES TIMES, thinks there is a real chance of announcing in the very near future projects that deserve attention. These will lead almost immediately to a considerable increase in the extraction of Soviet oil. U.S. experts believe that American technology is capable of raising the returns from our fields, each of which, I should note, yields a mere 20 percent of the black gold it contains. In the future, there are vast opportunities for developing the oil deposits of Western Siberia, linking Alaska and the west coast of the United States.

[Agayants] All this sounds very attractive, Yuriy Manuilovich, but let me point that many business people are not yet risking linking themselves to us through serious obligations. Evidently they are waiting to see what the outcome will be of our endless debates in the USSR Supreme Soviet. American companies are in a state of uncertainty. Who will they actually deal with? They are knocking at the door both at the local level and at the center.

[(Vedenyapin)] Incidentally, the majority of experts evidentally share the view that what is most important for the success of the economic and political reforms in the Soviet Union is not to allow the USSR to collapse. From their point of view this is fraught with unpredictable consequences that might be dangerous for the whole world. The London GUARDIAN writes that in East Europe representatives of the nomenklatura have turned up in the leadership of privatized enterprises, but they are generally incapable of understanding the concept of an economy that is subject to the discipline of market forces. No doubt this will impede the creation of a true market here too.

[Kornilov] Why do you say it will do this? It is doing so already, as we can easily see. Even though the economic model that exists here has been fully discredited, this in no way means that the conditions of a market economy will be automatically welcomed. We have a good many examples of the openly hostile attitude of the population to the cooperative movement. The mass media and various elevated rostrums have inflamed passions, as you are well aware, thanks to the widespread notion that private enterprises are created only to deceive the customer. Hence the difficulty in creating a true enterprise culture in many areas of our country.

[Agayants] As the great Rabelais wrote: revenons a nos moutons; in other words, the problems in USSR-U.S. trade and economic cooperation. The prospects for advances of any kind are, sadly, very vague and uncertain. As Peter Gumbel and (Walter Mosberg) wrote recently in THE WALL STREET JOURNAL: In spite of President Bush's promise in Helsinki that the United States will take the most positive stance regarding the provisions of aid to the Soviet economy, a delegation of American businessmen which has been to Moscow has discovered that, as before, there are numerous barriers and impediments to developing closer ties. The writers of the article note that there will be no considerable expansion of business links until the Soviet Union has adopted a law on exiting and entering the USSR and have settled the problem of Soviet debts to the United States from the period before the Bolsheviks came to power. Even the U.S.-Soviet trade agreement that was announced with such pomp in June of this year at the summit in Washington remains forgotten.

[(Vedenyapin)] It is not a very cheerful picture to be sure. What can we do? that is what our difficult, disorganized and, in many ways, unpredictable life is like today.

[Kornilov] This is no doubt what gave the president and chairman of directors of the Chevron Corporation, Kenneth Derr, grounds for stating that it is evident that now is not the most convenient time for holding talks on the creation of joint enterprises with the Soviet Union. Another symptomatic comment comes from the chairman of the board of directors of the Atlantic Richfield Company, Lowdrick Cook: The situation in the USSR is changing rapidly. No one knows which government department will be setting the rules of the game, he said. At the moment, if you sign an agreement with the USSR Government, it is possible that you might have to sign it with the government of a republic as well or with local bodies of power, he said.

[Agayants] It is obvious that until the implementation of reform in our country ends, the leaders of Western firms and companies, including those in the United States, will have to reconcile themselves to the traditional problems of our economy. These are an embarrasment to a great power and include the lack of a convertible currency, the poor work of our transport and communications sectors, and confused and ambiguous laws made worse by departmental instructions and methods of statistical and bookkeeping accounts that are scarcely comprehensible to civilized entrepreneurs. You are right, Gennadiy Aleksandrovich, it is not a pretty picture. However, remember the English proverb: every cloud has a silver lining. U.S. Secretary of Commerce Robert Mosbacher said, after visiting Moscow, that many of the problems listed are not insurmountable, so there is still hope.

[Kornilov] To continue the discussion in the same tone, I can say that the cold war has disappeared from our lives, relieving us from the stresses and hysterias and the expectation of war catastrophes.

As Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze said in his speech at the UN General Assembly: Gone is the fatigue of everyday confrontation, of propagandist exchanges of accusations, and of mutual threats. A year has passed since a piece of the Berlin Wall was considered a fashionable souvenir. No longer is there a physical division of Europe. The final chapter has been closed on the Second World War. The process of German unification is ending.

Just yesterday the German issue was not a viable topic. This huge and classical problem of modern politics has been resolved in a calm fashion and to mutual satisfaction.

In his speech at the United Nations, Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze congratulated the German people and the German nation on unification of the country, which is an event of outstanding importance in the history of our European continent.

[Agayants] In Bonn last Monday, FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker signed the treaty on the unification of the two German states, which has now assumed the force of law. This document contains more than 1,000 pages. It creates the legal preconditions for the unification of the FRG and GDR, which is to take place in two days' time, on 3 October.

[(Vedenyapin)] Let me note that the signing of the treaty was preceded by several months of very, very turbulent debate in West Germany. It comes as no surprise that the ideas of the ruling coalition parties and the opposition Social Democratic Party on the subject of what this fundamentally important document for the future of the German people is to be differed substantially. It would have been difficult to expect anything else. As a result of very intensive work, the government and the opposition managed to find a compromise on the majority of disputed issues. As a result, the treaty was ratified in the Bundestag 10 days ago. It won the support of more than two-thirds of the members. It was ratified by the GDR's supreme legislative body, the People's Chamber.

[Kornilov] Whether you like it or not, it has to be registered that the GDR, as such, failing by four days to live to see the 41st year of its existence, has come to the end of its life. It lost the competition with the FRG. Some people think that Honecker and his extremely orthodox supporters are to blame for this. The theory goes that if they had followed our example and adopted a policy of democratization and glasnost in time, the GDR could have been saved as a sovereign state. I hardly think that they can be right. The point is that if Honecker had been forced to opt for genuine reforms, their results would evidently have led to exactly the same outcome as we have today.

[Agayants] In point of fact, the GDR lost the competition with its Western neighbor toward the end of the 1950's and put its signature to its own defeat in 1961 when the Berlin Wall, which we have just mentioned, was built. The decisive factor here was the chronically ineffectual nature of one economic model and the capacity for self-development and self-regulation of the other.

[(Vedenyapin)] You know, the GDR economy, which has now come into direct contact with the free market, is experiencing serious difficulties. As soon as Western goods flooded Berlin's shops, East Germans stopped buying goods made in their own enterprises. The majority of them proved uncompetitive. There are several reasons for this: the low quality of goods, obsolete equipment, and low productivity. Without doubt, in the next year or year and a half, East Germans face hard times, which are already making their presence felt today with mass unemployment.

[Kornilov] Yes, there will be serious difficulties, but I think one really should not dramatize all this excessively. The unemployed are going to get benefits in hard currency. They are going to be quite capable of living off these benefits, purchasing cheap yet high quality foods filling the shops today. Moreover, the bulk of inhabitants of today's GDR must, it has to be assumed, be able to see the light at the end of the tunnel reasonably clearly. They dont's need to think up anything. They do not need to invent the bicycle. The experience of the FRG for the transition to new conditions of existence is sufficient for this.

[Agayants] The unification of Germany is undoubtedly a major event today. One epoch is finishing in Europe's life and another is beginning. The four victorious powers are voluntarily relinquishing their special rights which are contrary to the spirit of the times. A new, powerful participant is emerging in international relations—the united Germany.

[(Vedenyapin)] Incidentally, in connection with this, the idea of the FRG's inclusion in the UN Security Council as a sixth permanent member is seen as being at least worthy of discussion.

[Agayants] This arises of its own accord. An idea expressed by the American journal FOREIGN AFFAIRS proposes that it is time to think about creating for the leadership of the world a trilateral directorate comprised of the United States, Germany, and Japan. This thought—I am expressing myself mildly—is rather absurd. It should be asked here whether it is not rousing great power ambitions within Germany itself.

[Kornilov] In any case, this confirms once more that the unification of the Germanys into one state touches on the destinies and the interests of far from just the Germans themselves. I mean that the factor of security will from now on be closely linked with the policies of the new European giant, Germany. In this sense, the fact that unification will occur in a situation where there is an active search for paths to form a new system of European security is reassuring. The FRG leadership takes quite a constructive position. It is this leadership, Chancellor Kohl has stated, who should begin a new phase in European history.

[Agayants] One can hardly fail to agree with this pronouncement.

[(Vedenyapin)] Well, our program has come to an end. We thank you, respected radio listeners, for your attention. I thank my colleagues for taking part in the broadcast. Goodbye, until we meet again on the air.

Comparison of Shevardnadze's UN Speech

PM2709105190

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 27 September 1990 carries in its Morning Edition on page 5 the "full text" of the speech delivered 25 September at a plenary session of the 45th UN General Assembly Session by USSR Foreign Minister Shevardnadze. The IZVESTIYA item, entitled "At the 45th UN General Assembly Session: Speech by USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze," has been compared with the Moscow TASS English version published under the headline "Addresses Assembly 25 Sep" in the 26 September Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 2-7, revealing the following variations:

Page 2, column one, paragraph one, only sentence, IZVESTIYA reads: ...UN General Assembly plenary session on September.... (adding "plenary")

Same column, paragraph five, sentence one, IZVESTIYA reads: ...of this 45th extraordinary session of the.... (adding "extraordinary")

Same column, paragraph nine, sentence one, IZVESTIYA reads: ...the German people and the German nation on behalf of the Soviet people and all Soviet people on this most.... (supplying additional material)

Same page, column two, paragraph one, first complete sentence, IZVESTIYA reads: ...David and Helsinki are major events in.... (substituting "are" for "and")

Same column, second complete paragraph, sentence two, IZVESTIYA reads: ...opinion and the needs of real life.

The central concepts.... (rewording)

Same column, third complete paragraph, only sentence, IZVESTIYA reads: ...in facing the acute global challenges of.... (adding "acute")

Same column, last paragraph, last sentence, IZVESTIYA reads: ...upon them to reconsider, to obey the.... (substituting "reconsider" for "hear reason")

Page 3, column one, first complete paragraph, sentence one, IZVESTIYA reads: ...this time of very grave trials Arab.... (adding "very")

Same column, third complete paragraph, sentence two, IZVESTIYA reads: ...This gives us a guarantee of the ability of the United Nations to deal with this very dangerous international crisis. The.... (substituting "guarantee" for "confidence"; substituting "very dangerous" for "grave")

Same column, last paragraph, sentence two, IZVESTIYA reads: ...the most important and most necessary of our tasks—the.... (adding "and most necessary")

Same page, column two, paragraph three, sentence one, IZVESTIYA reads: ...not just a grave tragedy and an.... (adding "grave")

Same column, paragraph six, sentence two, IZVESTIYA reads: ...a theoretical and doctrinal reassessment of the political, military, technological, economic, environmental.... (substituting "doctrinal" for "conceptual"; adding "military")

Same column, paragraph eight, only sentence, IZVESTIYA reads: ...non-proliferation of nuclear, chemical, bacteriological, and missile technologies and, more generally, the disproportionate growth of.... (repunctuating, substituting "the" for "and")

Page 4, column one, third complete paragraph, sentence one, IZVESTIYA reads: ...continue to draw the necessary conclusions for ourselves.... (substituting "the necessary" for "appropriate")

Page 5, column one, paragraph one, last sentence, IZVESTIYA reads: ...to nuclear explosions? And organize a worldwide parliamentary referendum?

What else has.... (adding sentence)

Same column, fifth complete paragraph, sentence two, IZVESTIYA reads: ...I know that worthy people work there.... (substituting "worthy" for "decent")

Same column, penultimate paragraph, sentence one, IZVESTIYA reads: ...group could include major experts on combatting.... (adding "major")

Same page, column two, paragraph one, sentence two, IZVESTIYA reads: ...humanity. Such work has long been underway somewhere in.... (substituting "has long been" for "is currently")

Same column, paragraph five, sentence three, IZVESTIYA reads: ...poorest of them. Merely stating this.... (deleting phrase)

Page 6, column one, penultimate paragraph, sentence one, IZVESTIYA reads: ...also see a specific contribution that we.... (substituting "specific" for "unique")

Same column, last paragraph, sentence three, IZVESTIYA reads: ...and its system of organizations can and.... (substituting "of" for "or")

Same page, column two, Paragraph three, sentence one, IZVESTIYA reads: ...in organizing a world forum on the role.... (substituting "world forum" for "wide-ranging discussion")

Page 7, column one, second complete paragraph, sentence two, IZVESTIYA reads: ...in the democratic processes of managing the life of one's own society.

The main task.... (rewording)

Same column, fifth complete paragraph, sentence one, IZVESTIYA reads: ...political involvement and acquisition of their national.... (substituting "acquisition" for "reaffirmation")

Same page, column two, fourth complete paragraph, only sentence, IZVESTIYA reads: ...and scholars whose qualities are epitomized.... (omitting "brilliant")

Same column, fifth complete paragraph, only sentence, IZVESTIYA reads: ...activities of nations.

I thank you, friends, for that. (adding sentence; IZVESTIYA ends)

United States & Canada

Shevardnadze Continues Meetings With Bush

Meets Bush 3 Oct

LD0310165990 Moscow TASS in English 1646 GMT 3 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondents Mikhail Kochetkov, Yevgeniy Menkes, and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] United Nations October 3 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker began another working meeting in New York today. It is taking place at the Soviet permanent mission at the United Nations.

At the end of the previous meeting, Shevardnadze and Baker told journalists that it was quite possible that they would find solutions to problems concerning cuts of conventional arms in Europe and several issues related to the conclusion of a treaty on the reduction of strategic offensive weapons.

The possibility that the two men will sign a joint Soviet-U.S. statement on the responsibility for peace and security in the changing world has not been ruled out.

Expresses Satisfaction

LD0410091790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0240 GMT 4 Oct 90

[Text] [No dateline as received] Our meeting today with the U.S. secretary of state was very intense and at the same time productive, Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister, has stated. The Soviet and U.S. ministers answered journalists' questions immediately after the end of their third working meeting during these days. It lasted six and one-half hours.

I am very satisfied with the results of the work which has been done, pointed out Eduard Shevardnadze. The main problem which was examined this time was the reduction of conventional weapons in Europe. I should like to stress that here we managed to achieve mutual understanding on all questions discussed. The minister pointed out that both sides should, naturally, discuss the adopted decisions with their allies in NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

As Eduard Shevardnadze said, agreement was also reached at the meeting on all questions connected with the problem of the air force, except one—the question on helicopters was left unresolved. However, according to the minister, this is not the most complicated problem, and in order to find solutions it was passed on to the specialists.

During the meeting some aspects of reduction in strategic offensive weapons were seriously examined, the minister pointed out further. Of course, not all questions were examined, but serious progress was achieved here. In connection with this, he stated, there might be one more meeting with the U.S. secretary of state in New York which will enable us to prepare the ground for completion of the talks on concluding the strategic offensive weapons treaty this year.

The Soviet minister drew journalists' attention to the very important, according to him, joint Soviet-U.S. declaration 'Responsibility for Peace and Security in the Changing World,' which was adopted at this meeting. Both sides' support for UN activities was expressed in it.

For his part J. Baker, U.S. secretary of state, answering journalists' questions, expressed complete agreement with the view of E.A. Shevardnadze and his assessment of the talks that took place. Overall, J. Baker stressed, the decisions that have been reached enable one to hope that the all-European summit meeting in Paris will be prepared and will take place at the scheduled time.

Ministers Address Newsmen

LD0310173690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1631 GMT 3 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondents Mikhail Kochetkov, Yevgeniy Menkes, and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] United Nations, 3 Oct (TASS)—Another working meeting between USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker began at the USSR's permanent mission to the United Nations in New York today. This is already the third meeting between the ministers in the last 10 days. Before it started, Eduard Shevardnadze and James Baker answered journalists' questions.

Replying to a question about the purpose of the departure for Iraq of the Soviet delegation led by Yevgeniy Primakov, Eduard Shevardnadze said that there are approximately 5,000 Soviet citizens in Iraq now. The aim of the trip by Primakov, who is a member of the Presidential Council, is to organize normal conditions for the evacuation of Soviet people from Iraq.

He drew attention to the speech by U.S. President George Bush to the 45th UN General Assembly session, in which, the minister said, "the correct points of emphasis were set out" with regard to resolving the crisis in the Persian Gulf.

The Soviet minister went on to point out that the main issue which will be examined today is a discussion of unresolved problems before the all-European summit meeting in Paris. Much has already been done, but some matters remain, and they have to be resolved. Eduard Shevardnadze also noted that the sides "are working" on the problem of an Afghan settlement.

For his part, Secretary of State James Baker said that since approximately six weeks remain until the Paris meeting, attention will naturally be concentrated on the range of issues connected with preparations for it. As for the Afghan problem, "progress is being noted" here, Baker said.

Talks End

LD0410093990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 4 Oct 90

[Text] In New York the meeting of Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, with James Baker, U.S. secretary of state, has ended. This is the third meeting that the ministers have had in the last 10 days.

It is reported that the main problem examined was the reduction of conventional armaments in Europe. The ministers also adopted a joint Soviet-American statement on responsibility for peace and security in a changing world. Expressed in it is the support of both sides for the activities of the United Nations. Commenting on the document adopted, Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze stressed that the joint Soviet-American statement in support of the United Nations is indicative of the new approach that the countries are adhering to with regard to the role and significance of the United Nations and other international organizations and of the formation of a post-confrontational world order that is coming into being.

Answering a journalist's question on the purpose for which a Soviet delegation headed by Yevgeniy Primakov has departed for Iraq, the Soviet minister said that at the present time there are approximately 5,000 Soviet citizens in Iraq. The aim of Primakov's trip is to arrange normal conditions for the evacuation of Soviet citizens from Iraq, he stated.

Shevardnadze, Bush Sign Joint Statement

Text of Statement

LD0410003790 Moscow TASS in English 2350 GMT 3 Oct 90

["Full text" of joint Soviet-American statement adopted at the 45th U.N. General Assembly session on October 3]

[Text] New York October 4—Follows full text of a joint Soviet-American statement adopted here Wednesday.

The 45th session of the United Nations General Assembly is taking place amidst the most profound changes in international affairs that have occurred since the Second World War. The confrontational nature of relations between East and West is giving way to a cooperative relationship and partnership. The United Nations is becoming a genuine centre for coordinated joint actions, and the Security Council is restoring its decisive role in efforts to promote international security, peacefully settle disputes and avert conflicts. Yet there remain many challenges to meet and problems to solve on the way to a peaceful and prosperous future.

Reaffirming the resolution presented last year by the United States and Soviet Union and unanimously adopted by the U.N. General Assembly, our two countries will attach special importance to promoting practical, multifaceted solutions to the issues of international peace and security, political, economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems.

To accomplish this we will pursue cooperation with all member-states in attainment of the following:

—Strengthen the U.N.'s efforts to promote international peace and security in all its aspects by working to improve U.N. peace-keeping, peace-making and crisis prevention functions and by encouraging more active use of the secretary-general's good offices, help individual countries hold elections at their request;

—Establish a new sense of responsibility at the U.N. by encouraging the trend away from theoretical excess toward efforts to deal pragmatically with the major issues of the 1990s, including transnational issues like narcotics, the environment, development, terrorism, and human rights;

—Promote a new way of conducting diplomatic efforts within the U.N. system to eliminate duplicative programs and activities and ensure that the U.N. system is utilized in the most efficient manner possible—we call this a "unitary U.N.";

—Ensure the availability of sufficient resources to the U.N. for it to function effectively and efficiently by timely payment of financial obligations to the U.N.

Promoting Peace and Security In All Its Aspects

Joint efforts have contributed significantly to the easing of tensions in southern Africa and Central America, and are part of efforts to prepare a peaceful settlement in Cambodia. But serious problems still remain. Our search continues for workable solutions to conflict and instability in the Persian Gulf, the Middle East, Afghanistan, and El Salvador.

In the Persian Gulf, we face a most serious threat to the integrity of the emerging international system. The United States and the Soviet Union are working together with other members of the Security Council to fashion a concerted response, unprecedented in U.N. history, to this crisis. The swift reaction of the international community to Iraq's dangerous and unwarranted aggression serves as a sobering reminder to any future aggressor; the international community will not tolerate the kind of wanton aggression which Iraq has committed. We call upon all United Nations members to continue to support the sanctions invoked by Security Council Resolution 661 and 670 until Iraq abides by the call of the Security Council to withdraw its forces from Kuwait immediately, totally and unconditionally.

The rapidly changing structure of international relations requires a United Nations that, while remaining faithful to its original purposes, can also respond flexibly and effectively to new challenges as they occur, like drugs, the environment, and the need to ensure the protection of human rights.

Tangible examples of the U.N. movement away from divisive rhetoric and political excess were last December's special session of the General Assembly on apartheid and the resumed session this month, where the world community underscored its resolute opposition to apartheid while agreeing, by consensus, on a positive approach based on dialogue among all South African parties. We will work for equally positive results at the General Assembly this year.

The U.N. special session on international economic cooperation in April 1990 also reflected the growing convergence of views worldwide on the need for more effective approaches to national economic development, in the context of a supportive international economic environment. Our two countries will continue working together to promote further conveyance in this direction. We will also support efforts to ensure careful and pragmatic preparation for the 1992 conference on environment and development. We want to see the conference fashion a realistic action plan to set the U.N.'s course in the coming decades.

The United Nations is also actively promoting peace changes by helping individual countries hold free and just elections.

The United Nations help in Namibia and Nicaragua was exceptionally successful. There are also many other situations which require similar U.N. services. Our countries will work together with other U.N. member-countries and the secretary general to structuralise U.N. help in organising elections and help the organisation effectively implement this new, important sphere of its activities.

Promoting a Unitary U.N. and Assuring Needed Financial Resources

An important area of our bilateral and multilateral cooperation has been the administration and management of the United Nations, particularly its budget. As major contributors to the United Nations, we believe it is essential that all views on the budget are taken into account, and that the agreement of all major contributors is required in order to approve the budget.

For there to be consensus, the U.N. system must improve the setting of priorities and improve coordination among various U.N. programs. The aim should be to eliminate duplicative programs and activities and ensure that the various components of the United Nations are utilized in the most efficient manner possible. For priority setting and coordination to be effective, members will need clearer and more comprehensive data on what the U.N. and the specialized agencies are doing with assessed and voluntary contributions.

Our two countries provide an important element of U.N. resources. As such, we recognize our responsibility to pay assessments promptly so that the United Nations has the resources required to perform the tasks as expeditiously as possible, keeping in mind the necessity of strengthening the administrative and budgetary reforms that have taken place in recent years.

We intend to work for further enhancing the efficiency of the executive machinery of the organization.

Establish a New Sense of Responsibility for Peace

The challenges before the international community and the U.N. are great. So, too, are the opportunities for more and better multilateral cooperation to confront and master the problems of our time.

In all spheres of U.N. activities, the renunciation of sterile and rigid positions dictated by ideology rather than by practicality constitutes an essential prerequisite for creating an atmosphere of confidence within the United Nations among all United Nations members.

The United Nations can play a leading role on issues of global concern. We will actively support efforts, throughout the U.N. system, to implement and strengthen the principles and the system of international peace, security and international cooperation laid down in the Charter.

Shevardnadze Hails Joint Action

LD0410090190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0005 GMT 4 Oct 90

[Text] UN, 4 Oct (TASS)—At the correspondents' request, E.A. Shevardnadze has commented on the adopted document as follows:

The joint Soviet-U.S. statement in support of the activities of the United Nations is an indicator of the new approach which our countries are adhering to in relation to their appraisal of the role and significance of the United Nations and other international organizations in forming the post-confrontational world order which is coming into being.

In developing and deepening our dialogue with the United States and moving into direct partnership with it, we at the same time are not conceiving international relations without the operation of multilateral mechanisms. Rather the opposite—our thoughts are consistently directed at the necessity of uniting the efforts of all the members of the international community in a common movement through consensus toward the new world order.

The agenda for multilateral diplomacy contained in our statement embraces, essentially, all the contemporary global problems, from political to socio-economic ones, questions of environmental protection, the defense of the rights and liberties of the individual. We do not separate our interests in solving these problems from those of the other members of the international community and are offering a universal political and legal way to their solution—the well-proven method of finding a balance of interests in providing a secure and comfortable world for all.

It is obvious that the solution of problems which in their significance are common for our civlization demands the adjustment of the multilateral mechanisms, and the increase in the effectiveness of the United Nations as the main institution of international cooperation. To this end, we suggest concentrating our attention on adapting the activities of the United Nations and the structures which have formed within its framework to the new international realities, on perfecting the coordination of the work of the international organizations, on the better use of their resources, and on their peace-creating and intellectual potential. It is important that all the UN bodies, and especially the Security Council, the General Assembly, and the secretary general realize their full potential, serving as the generators of positive changes in the world, and a coordination center of the policies and specific practical actions of states.

We are proposing to fine-tune the system of financing the organization and to transform the international civil service into a standard of high competence and professionalism, a model of effectiveness in the function of an executive apparatus. It is possible to foresee that some will ask how realistic are the tasks which we put before us. I think that they are quite within the international community's powers. Having responded to the challenge presented to our organization by the Iraq-Kuwait crisis, the United Nations has demonstrated a new sense of responsibilities for the world's future, and for the birth of the new internationalism which unites countries and peoples on the consolidating basis of the aims and principles of the UN Charter, and common human values.

Inviting the international community to actively support the aims and ideals contained in our declaration, we believe that the Soviet- U.S. initiative in this sphere will serve to establish relations of peace and cooperation throughout the whole system of coordinates of the new and still rather fragile world. We all bear responsibility for this.

Primakov Sees Positive Changes in U.S. Ties

LD0310152290 Moscow TASS in English 1459 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow October 3 TASS—Recent developments have ended the confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union, promoting stability in superpower and international relations, Soviet Presidential Council member Yevgeniy Primakov said in an interview published in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA today.

"Our relations have acquired a civilised character. The cold war has ended and is now in the past," he said. There are now more "variables". The task is now to capitalise on the potential of superpower relations and their authority and eliminate the "neither war, nor peace" situation in the world, he said.

The two countries should work to promote a new world order to ensure stability, security, justice and human progress, he said.

After perestroyka in the Soviet Union encountered difficulties U.S. public and congressional circles took a cautious or wait-and- see approach, he said.

"Unfortunately, there are still anti-Soviet sentiments in the West—from mean, and mostly unjustified criticism as regards the centre's policy towards constituent republics to false accusations and insincerity and double standards," he said.

"I believe that positive changes in the international situation are stable and promise further progress," he said.

Pentagon Official Denies Nuclear Arms in Gulf

LD0310110190 Moscow TASS in English 1032 GMT 3 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Dmitriy Shishkov]

[Text] San Francisco October 3 TASS—The United States has no nuclear arms in Saudi Arabia or other countries in the Gulf region, neither does it intend to use them to retaliate against a possible Iraqi chemical or bacteriological attack, a Pentagon spokesman said, quoting a decision by the U.N. joint chiefs of staff.

He said the United States is not planning to equip Army, Air Force or Marine units in the Gulf with nuclear weapons, THE LOS ANGELES TIMES newspaper wrote on Tuesday.

According to the newspaper, some U.S. warships in the Middle East possess nuclear arms on board, but they are performing their usual tasks, not connected with the Gulf crisis, and their presence in the region does not mean that they might use these weapons.

A U.S. Administration spokesman said the United States is trying to keep its nuclear arms out of the region for moral reasons and because their use might break the united, yet fragile, front against Saddam Hussayn.

Baker Meets Baltic Foreign Ministers

LD0310175290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 3 Oct 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, has had a meeting with the foreign ministers of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. Speaking at a news conference in New York, he said that the meeting discussed the hope and wish of the United States with regard to the possibility of a dialogue between the Baltic states and the Soviet Union which would lead to the settlement of disagreements between them.

Shatalin To Meet Baker, U.S. Officials

LD3009224190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2226 GMT 30 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Igor Borisenko]

[Text] Washington, 1 Oct—Academician Stanislav Shatalin, member of the Presidential Council, has arrived in the United States on a two-week visit. He will hold meetings with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and other officials, address members of the International Affairs Committee, and familiarize himself with the activity of Duke University business school.

U.S. Businessmen Hold Talks on Soviet Ventures

PM0310100690 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Oct 90 Second Edition p 4

[Article by PRAVDA correspondent V. Linnik plus TASS "Postscript": "Conference of American Businessmen: How To Do Business in the USSR"]

[Text] New York, 30 Sep—A conference organized by American businessmen on the topic "How to set up joint ventures in the Soviet Union" took place over two days in one of the 110-storied towers of the World Trade Center.

The conference was purely practical in nature: Those present discussed in detail the strategy of preliminary talks with Soviet partners, the procedure for drafting contracts, and the structure and financing of joint enterprises in the USSR. Leaders of American corporations, officials of the U.S. Commerce Department, and lawyers took part in this conference organized by the International Studies Institute.

What is the state of affairs regarding American-Soviet joint ventures? As of today around 1,000 so-called letters of intent have been signed. Roughly 150 joint ventures have been registered, of which a few dozen are actually operating. The results, to be frank, do not match up to the statements about the rapid development of Soviet-American relations. And yet the Law on Joint Ventures has been operating in our country for three years now. Where does the problem lie, then?

The businessmen attending the conference were frank on this score. Given the growing economic and political decentralization in the Soviet Union, it is unclear whom you do business with, T. Shillingshou [name as transliterated] from the Corning corporation said in his paper. The Russian parliament has declared the primacy of its authority over union authority. But that means that deals union ministries strike with us have no legal force from the standpoint of Russian laws. What we have here is thus a typical constitutional crisis. Some planned contracts have been wrecked as a result of friction between the union and Moscow authorities. Given the growing political instability inside the country, the investment of capital in the USSR is becoming a risky business.

"In recent years we have confronted a quite new problem in doing business with your country," was the way concern was expressed to me by J. Hughes, one of the organizers of the conference and a man with 20 years of experience of commercial and economic contacts behind him, "the USSR is not creditworthy."

Why, then, given such pessimistic assessments, are U.S. businessmen on the whole now interested in developing business ties with us? Americans are attracted first and foremost by the wealth of our natural resources. Moreover, American enthusiasm is growing as the Japanese buy up lock, stock, and barrel an increasing number of leading American corporations and skyscrapers in New York. In these conditions U.S. businessmen are not losing interest in our consumer market's potential. [Linnik report ends]

As David Mulford, under secretary at the U.S. Treasury Department, told AP, the United States is awaiting the results of a study of the state of affairs in the Soviet economy before a decision is taken on whether Washington should change its stance on the question of granting direct economic aid to the USSR. Careful analysis of the state of the Soviet economy is being carried out under the auspices of the IMF and should be completed by this December. Last week a special closed briefing was held for leaders of the finance ministries of the G-7 countries—the United States, Japan, the FRG, Britain, France, Canada, and Italy.

Citing well-informed sources, AP notes that Michel Camdessus, managing director of the IMF, specially stressed the idea that the USSR is in extreme need of a vigorous central bank. The creation of such a bank is the "key" to taking control of the country's serious economic problems. In his opinion, the IMF and the World Bank could provide technical assistance here. "The Russians have a pretty tight schedule for implementing perestroyka," noted [World Bank President] B. Conable in turn. "We are ready to offer them advice in this matter, since that is our area of specialization."

China

Sino-Soviet Talks on Arms Reductions Reviewed

LD0410090590 Moscow TASS in English 0849 GMT 4 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow October 4 TASS—Delegations from the Soviet Union and China held the first round of talks on mutual reductions in the Armed Forces and confidence building measures on the Sino- Soviet border in Moscow between September 10-28, it was officially announced here today.

The talks were held in a friendly and businesslike atmosphere. The sides agreed to continue talks and hold the next round in Beijing.

The Chinese delegation was received by Soviet Deputy Foreign Ministers Viktor Karpov and Igor Rogachev and deputy head of the Soviet Armed Forces General Staff Vladimir Denisov.

The delegation visited a number of military institutions and units in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan.

Yazov Sends Greetings to PRC Defense Minister

PM0210143590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Sep 90 First Edition p 1

[Greetings message by USSR Defense Minister D. Yazov: "To Colonel General Comrade Qin Jiwei, PRC Defense Minister"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Minister!

I congratulate you and all Chinese People's Liberation Army [PLA] personnel on the 41st anniversary of the PRC's formation.

Soviet people, sincerely sympathetic to your country, are noting with satisfaction that over the past few years the Chinese people have achieved notable results in socioeconomic building.

On this festive day I wish you and all PLA servicemen further successes in military work, good health, and prosperity.

(Signed) Marshal of the Soviet Union D. Yazov, USSR defense minister

Chinese Party Leader Visits Politburo Members

PM0210142190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Sep 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports": "Under Cooperation Plan"]

[Text] From 17 through 27 September, a CPC delegation headed by Ding Guangen, candidate member of the Politburo and member of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee, visited the Soviet Union in accordance with the CPSU-CPC cooperation plan.

The delegation held conversations with B.K. Pugo, chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Central Control Commission, O.S. Shenin and G.I. Yanayev, members of the Politburo and secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee, V.A. Kuptsov and Yu.A. Manayenkov, secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee, and V.I. Voldin, member of the CPSU Central Committee, and also conversations at the Moscow CPSU Gorkom [City Committee]. The Chinese delegation visited Leningrad and Kiev, where it met with local party representatives.

The guests were briefed on the situation in the party, the trends in the development of the political situation in the Soviet Union, the progress of perestroyka in all spheres of society's life, and the CPSU's international activity.

The Chinese representatives talked about the main directions of CPC policy aimed at strengthening the ranks of the party, consolidating stability in the country, continuing the reforms, and ensuring conditions for dynamic development of the economy.

Both sides expressed expressed satisfaction at the constructive development of contacts between the CPSU and the CPC and advocated further deepening them.

Comparison of Gurenko Talks With PRC Official

PM2809123590

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 25 September 1990 in its Second Edition on page 4 a UKRINFORM-TASS carries a report of a meeting between S.I. Gurenko, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, and Ding Guangen, candidate member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo, 24 September in Kiev. The PRAVDA item, entitled "Conversation Held," has been compared with the translation of the Moscow TASS International Russian version published in the China section of the 25 September issue of the Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, p 11, revealing the following variations:

Paragraph two reads, only sentence reads: ...of the problems, in particular social and economic, which have to... (adding words)

Paragraph three, sentence two reads: ...is discussing the most important problems and... (rewording)

Paragraph three, sentence three reads: ...responsibility, the guest stressed, to defend socialism... (rewording)

Border Guards To Patrol Chinese Fishing Areas

LD0310103490 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Soviet border guards have been called in the section of the Amur river bordering with China. With the autumn spawning of salmon underway, scores of Chinese boats have been crossing the frontier to catch fish in Soviet territorial waters.

By some reports along the 200 kilometer stretch of the river alone they catch more than a thousand tonnes of spawning salmon. While the Soviet side has been restricting the catch of fish in that period to preserve the schools of fish, Chinese poachers have been breaching the restrictions.

Northeast Asia

Primakov Says Deadlock Remains Over Kurils

LD0310151790 Moscow TASS in English 1458 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow October 3 TASS—Yevgeniy Primakov, member of the USSR Presidential Council, said President Mikhail Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to Japan "could become a watershed, leaving an imprint on the entire course of future relations between the two countries." Primakov made this statement in an interview with the LITERATURNAYA GAZETTA weekly today. He also warned against taking a careless attitude towards a "concrete prognosis" of the possible outcome of the visit.

Primakov described as "illusionary" hopes that the Soviet president would solve contentious issues with Japan by unilaterally abandoning previously occupied positions.

Arguments about the northern territories (four islands of the Kuril chain), which the Japanese side continues to claim, are leading relations between the two countries into a deadlock, Primakov said. At the same time he points out that the USSR and Japan have traversed "a certain, although not long, road" in sorting out this problem. The progress is shown by the fact that the USSR no longer denies outright the existence of the northern territories problem, while Japan no longer considers absolutely everything through the prism of this problem.

Primakov also argued that the difficulty in settling the dispute over the sovereignty of the four Kurile Islands stems from the political and psychological situation in the USSR and Japan. "The abandonment of previous positions on this question by either sides will not be accepted by the broad mass of the people," in both countries.

Primakov said a wide exchange of views about other issues regarding the islands, such as "joint economic activity in various forms, humanitarian issues and, possibly, some military-political aspects" might provide a way out of the deadlock.

Such ideas, he argues, would bring the positions closer, "open the doors wider to the development of large-scale Soviet-Japanese relations in political, economic, scientific, technological and cultural areas."

With time, he continues, such moves could help sort out the problems that now seem intractable.

South Korean Arms Buildup Criticized

SK0310094890 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Commentary by station commentator Igor Lebedev; from the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] The South Korean cabinet approved the draft state budget for fiscal 1991. According to the draft, $9.63 billion will go for the military. Our station commentator Igor Lebedev writes:

Military expenditures account for nearly 30 percent of the ROK state budget. This is an increase of 12.9 percent compared with last year. Is this a small or large figure? For a country which repeatedly has expressed its willingness to ease military confrontation on the Korean peninsula, I think this is far too large an amount.

South Korea already has massively stockpiled weapons. It also is inappropriate to invest too much for military purposes in view of the recent developments on the Korean peninsula. We can say this, most of all, regarding the recent North-South premiers' talks, during which easing military and political confrontation and promoting confidence and cooperation were discussed. I would like to remind the listeners that Seoul put forward a three-stage arms reduction proposal. How does the increase in military spending correlate with this proposal?

It should not be forgotten that there are 130 U.S. military bases and facilities in South Korea, in which some 45,000 U.S. troops equipped with nuclear and other modern weapons are stationed. The United States, if I may add, is planning to hand over 120 F-18A modern bombers. I must ask whether this plot will bring a new danger of arms buildup on the Korean peninsula.

There is another important aspect. Washington is planning again to hand over weapons to South Korea when an atmosphere of detente is anticipated on the Korean peninsula and when the suspicion and hostility between the North and South are giving way to dialogue and mutual understanding. The South Korean policy of increasing military spending and the U.S. military aid to South Korea can complicate the progress that is under way.

Many in the United States and South Korea say they are making efforts to strengthen security in Asia. But is this really true?

DPRK Response to Improving ROK Ties Viewed

SK2909095190 Moscow International Service in Korean 0900 GMT 25 Sep 90

[Text] Our station introduces to the listeners noteworthy articles in Soviet publications, such as an article published by the Soviet youth paper KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA headlined "Pyongyang Is Destroying Itself."

How morbidly Pyongyang will react to preparations between Moscow and Seoul for establishing diplomatic relations has only been guessed. It was understandable it cannot forgive its traditional friend and an ally for such a daring attempt. Pyongyang's position now, however, has been made clear in many ways.

A DPRK Foreign Ministry memorandum delivered through diplomatic channels to the Soviet Union recently has been made public.

In this official document the DPRK demanded, in virtually an ultimatum, that Moscow give up establishing diplomatic relations with South Korea. In the memorandum it was noted that establishing diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and South Korea is a splittist measure that obstructs national reunification.

According to the memorandum, the consequences of establishing diplomatic relations are as follows: The Soviet Union has colluded with the United States and South Korea to topple the existing system in the DPRK in the course of establishing diplomatic relations; as a result, Seoul has become more arrogant and has begun acting pompously regarding Pyongyang, while embarking upon reunifying the country based on a German scenario, namely through South Korea swallowing the DPRK. If South-North dialogue is suspended, therefore, the treaty of alliance between the Soviet Union and the DPRK will become ineffective.

This scenario will be effective immediately after Moscow and Seoul officially reach an agreement on mutual diplomatic recognition.

Pyongyang's public act as such can be seen as a last attempt to pressure Moscow. If this attempt fails, it remains to be seen whether Pyongyang will eventually destroy its bridge to the Soviet Union.

ROK President's Comments on Relations Reported

SK0310075090 Moscow International Service in Korean 0900 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Text] According to TASS, ROK President No Tae-u, in an interview with SEOUL SINMUN and CHUNGANG ILBO, stated, "We regard the Soviet Union as our most important economic partner in the Asian-Pacific region."

He continued: The two countries' economic structures are mutually complementary. The ROK, for example, has the production facilities, technological processes, and service bases the Soviet Union needs. On the other hand, the ROK not only has a broad potential market in the Soviet Union, but also needs advanced Soviet technological processes. The economic exchange and cooperation with the Soviet Union, therefore, will open new potential for our economy.

President No Tae-u appraised the process of achieving bilateral agreement in this area as successful, and noted that the agreements on safeguarding investment, prevention of double taxation, and scientific and technological cooperation will be signed by the end of this year, in addition to existing trade and aviation agreements. He stressed if diplomatic relations are established between the two countries, all these agreements will provide conditions necessary for developing mutual trade and promoting investment by South Korean businesses in the Soviet Union.

Answering a question on when establishment of diplomatic relations and the exchange of top-level visits are anticipated, he noted that in the first round of talks between the Soviet and ROK Governments in Moscow in August 1990, the two sides agreed as a fundamental principle that economic cooperation and normalization of relations between the two states should be advanced simultaneously, and said this agreement was very successful in expediting the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

President No continued: This issue will be officially solved during the first meeting between the two countries' foreign ministers 30 September at the United Nations, and the relevant agreement will be signed during the second round of talks between the Soviet and ROK Government delegations.

He then said that although a time for the exchange of visits by top-level leaders has not been discussed, it will be quite natural for the two presidents to visit Moscow and Seoul at an appropriate time after diplomatic relations have been established.

President No, touching on the Korean peninsula situation, stressed that ROK efforts to normalize relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are far from being aimed at isolating North Korea. Recalling that he received Premier Yon Hyong-muk of the DPRK State Administration Council for the first time in history following the North-South premiers' talks in Seoul in early September, President No said he made that point clear to the North Korean delegates.

He then maintained that the North and South should become UN members prior to reunification. Using the two German states as an example, he said the assertion that simultaneous UN entry will perpetuate the country's division is groundless. He stressed that bilateral relations should progress from small steps toward larger ones, deepen mutual confidence by developing economic, sports, and other exchanges, and improve North-South relations based on this. He reconfirmed his willingness to meet President Kim Il-song at any time and place on this.

President No said lastly that confidence-building also is a priority in efforts to reduce Armed Forces and oppose war on the Korean peninsula. He said if political and military confidence is built between the North and South, this issue will be settled through the agreement between Seoul and Washington for withdrawing U.S. troops from South Korea.

President No's remarks about issues on (?state policies) drew considerable attention from the South Korean and foreign media. Many people appraise No's remarks as the manifestation of the ROK Government's determination to make positive efforts to normalize relations with the Soviet Union and to make as much progress as possible in dialogue with the DPRK. So we can expect this proposal to be carefully studied in the capitals of all states interested in safeguarding security in Northeast Asia and establishing friendly and mutually beneficial cooperative relations there.

North Korea, Japan Agree on Improving Relations

SK3009080190 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 29 Sep 90

[From the "Asian News" program under the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] Japan and the DPRK are calling for an earlier establishment of diplomatic relations.

This call was stated in a joint declaration the leaders of the two countries' ruling parties signed in Pyongyang. The two sides are expected to start talks on this in November.

In the declaration it was noted Japan should apologize for the suffering inflicted upon the Korean people during Japan's 36 years of colonial rule, from 1910 through 1945.

After the establishment of diplomatic relations, Japan should pay relevant compensation to the DPRK, including compensation for the period since the end of World War II to the present.

In the declaration it also was noted that satellite communications network and direct sea route should be established between the two countries to improve the bilateral relations between Japan and the DPRK.

Anniversary Recalls U.S. Landing in Korean War

SK2909103990 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 21 Sep 90

[Commentary by station commentator Igor Lebedev from the "Focus on Asia" program: "On the 40th Anniversary of the U.S. Forces Landing at Inchon and the Dispatch of U.S. Forces to South Korea"]

[Text] Forty years ago, in September 1950, the U.S. forces command carried out a large-scale amphibious operation at Inchon port in South Korea.

Our station commentator Igor Lebedev says the following on this: The 1950-1953 Korean war, as any war, was characterized by heroic and tragic events.

The DPRK people had to fight a strong enemy equipped with ultramodern weapons.

In countering the Korean People's Army [KPA], the United States mobilized all its Army, Naval, and Air Forces stationed in the Pacific region and even used its allies' Armed Forces.

The KPA, which was winning conspicuous success in the initial part of the war, came to be placed in a very difficult position. In September 1950, 50,000 U.S. troops landed at Inchon and attacked the positions near Pusan. The main KPA forces were confined. The KPA had lost its rear areas and, while continuing to fight, came to withdraw to the 38th Parallel.

Here I would like to note the following: The United Nations adopted a resolution limiting in South Korea the operational control of the U.S. forces which crept into South Korea under the U.N. signboard. Washington, however, having once relished the taste of triumph in the war, crossed the 38th Parallel. Pentagon generals were convinced they would win final victory.

But the situation had developed in the other direction. The Soviet Union, China, and other socialist countries stretched a supporting hand to the DPRK. Our country sent combat equipment, ammunition, and medicine, and Soviet pilots defended the Korea's air space. On 25 October 1950, the first unit of Chinese volunteers joined the fighting in Korea. This boosted the (?morale) of the KPA. The social circles of the world were sympathetic with the DPRK.

The roar of guns in the Korean war stopped about 40 years ago. The war claimed nine million Koreans, one million Chinese volunteers, and tens of thousands of U.S. troops.

The situation on the peninsula, nonetheless, remains complicated. The DPRK and South Korea as yet have concluded no treaty of reconciliation. Only the Armistice Agreement is in effect. In Korea, the two sides' Armed Forces still confront one another.

Under these circumstances, of course, the steps taken by the two Koreas for easing tension on the peninsula are particularly significant.

North Korea's proposals are well known. South Korea lately, as well is not indifferent. In saying this, I recall the premier-level meeting recently held in Seoul between the two Koreas. The meeting has been highly rated by all those interested in easing tension in Korea.

Mongolian Premier Thanks Ryzhkov for Greetings

PM0210152790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Mongolian Prime Minister Dashiyn Byambasuren message: "To N.I. Ryzhkov, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] Profoundly Esteemed Nikolay Ivanovich,

I wholeheartedly thank you for your congratulations and good wishes in connection with my appointment as Mongolian prime minister.

I am sure that the traditional Mongolian-Soviet relations of friendship and cooperation will continue to expand

and grow strong in the spirit of the perestroyka and renewal taking place in our countries.

May I take this opportunity to wish you further successes in implementing the tasks of perestroyka for the good of the entire Soviet people.

[Signed] Dashiyn Byambasuren, Mongolian prime minister

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Burmese Regime's Actions Threaten To Split Army

BK0310124190 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Commentary by Aleksandr Vladimirov]

[Text] Judging from recent reports arriving here from Myanmar [Burma], the very conduct of the military regime to prevent the growth of democracy in the country has become a threat to the stability within the military itself. Our correspondent Aleksandr Vladimirov makes the following observations:

Quoting sources in Myanmar, world news agencies have been saying that many military personnel are not very happy with the way the State Law and Order Restoration Council [SLORC] had been refusing to acknowledge the results of the multiparty elections held in May and to transfer the power to a civilian government. In addition, there are indications of growing dissatisfaction among the military officers with the orders given by the generals. It appears that frequent clashes with the people have made the soldiers and their commanding officers feel that way. For instance, a dispatch from our Southeast Asian affairs correspondent said that waves of protest are growing in the country because of the latest round of arrests by the Myanmar military regime.

Even the Buddhist monks have joined in the protests. Reports say monks refuse to accept food from military personnel and are boycotting religious rituals for weddings and funerals held at the homes of military personnel. They even kneel before the soldiers in protest. The gesture is to show the Defense Services that they are acting above the law and behaving in a way that presumes they are greater even than the Great Buddha himself.

These protests have a lasting impact on the morale of ordinary soldiers and officers. They not only consider themselves to be excommunicated but also feel that they have become the enemies of their own people. The truth is the Defense Services have for many years been considered as the main force in ensuring national security as well as peace and stability in the country.

In fact, the Myanmar generals did cite that tradition when they staged the military coup in 1988. But following that, the military regime has been cracking down on many of the people staging protests against it. In particular, the National League for Democracy, which won the May elections overwhelmingly, has lost almost all of its leaders. The harshest penalties were reserved for the people whom the SLORC thought were trying to divide the Defense Services. But by all appearances, that very policy of the military regime is fast becoming a threat for division within the military.

Western Protests Against Burmese Regime Viewed

BK3009133390 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1430 GMT 29 Sep 90

[Commentary by Aleksandr Vladimirov]

[Text] According to news reports reaching here, the European Economic Community nations, Japan, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, Sweden, and Canada have lodged a strong protest with the incumbent military regime in Myanmar [Burma] for the detention and interrogation of local employees working for foreign embassies in Yangon [Rangoon]. The protest lodged by Italian Ambassador Giorgio Bosco highlighted the questions concerning the arrest of pro-democracy elements and the intrusion of Myanmar troops into embassy compounds.

News agency reports filed from Myanmar quoted foreign diplomats as saying three Myanmar women who worked for the information sections of the U.S., British, and Australian Embassies were detained and questioned by Myanmar intelligence recently.

The woman who worked for the British Embassy was detained for four days in Insein Jail. The other two who worked for the Australian and U.S. Embassies were detained for two days.

Some days ago it was learned that Myanmar troops intruded into the compound of a West German Embassy. In addition, arrests are continuing of supporters and active members of the National League for Democracy [NLD]. For example, only recently U Sein Hla U, a staff member of the NLD Information Committee, was arrested. These are the signs that the repression by the military regime is being extended from the opposition leaders to the technocrats as well. According to a news report on Myanmar Radio, three more persons were arrested for authoring and distributing antigovernment poems on Wednesday [26 September].

What is remarkable about the above-mentioned protest lodged by the 18 nations, according to news reaching here in this connection, is that these nations refuse to recognize the legality of the present Yangon Government. In 1988 the generals who are followers of U Ne Win barbarously crushed the demand for democracy by the Myanmar people and formed the so-called State Law and Order Restoration Council [SLORC].

The SLORC did hold fair and free elections, but when it became evident that the opposition had overwhelming won the elections, the generals refused to hand over power to the people's representatives. According to Western diplomats, the Myanmar military leaders had thought that once they opened trade in Myanmar to foreign entrepreneurs, Western nations would turn a blind eye to whatever they were doing. By all appearances so far, the thinking of the military leaders is wrong. The official aid that the Yangon Government desperately seeks is not forthcoming.

Not all the embassies in Myanmar joined in the protest lodged by the Western ambassadors against the Myanmar military government's violation of the immunity of foreign diplomats. It is possible that the other embassies, which wish to take a cautious approach to the developments in Myanmar, may have avoided joining the move because the protest lodged by the Western ambassadors was political in nature.

Malaysia Criticized for Arms Purchase From UK

BK3009130590 Moscow in Malay to Malaysia
1000 GMT 29 Sep 90

[Commentary by Vladimir Viktorov]

[Text] While it is true that world attention is now focused on the Persian Gulf, something interesting is also happening in Malaysia, a country located in Southeast Asia. Malaysian Defense Minister Tengku Ahmad Rithauddeen recently said he was about to sign an agreement with Great Britain to purchase a number of military wares. About $200 million will be spent to purchase fighter planes, submarines, surface-to-air missiles, radar systems, and equipment for military bases.

To begin with, let us look at the somewhat varied reactions in Malaysia itself toward such huge expenditures. Military leaders in that country claimed that the Royal Malaysian Army does not have the necessary technical equipment. On the other hand, local observers point out that the desire to purchase so many weapons runs counter to Kuala Lumpur's claim that Malaysia has no urgent military needs. However, it must be admitted that if Malaysia decides to increase its military might, reactions will surely arise outside the country in view of the fact that Malaysia is one member of ASEAN, whereas the regional grouping is trying to turn the region into a zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality.

Therefore, is it necessary to increase the military budget of one of the ASEAN member countries to achieve the regional grouping's objective? This is despite a situation in which the changing trend is becoming more obvious. One year after the withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers from Cambodia, there is no longer the excuse that a threat from Hanoi still exists. As for the talk of a Soviet threat in the Asian-Pacific region, no one believes it anymore. On the contrary, peaceful and constructive remarks by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in Vladivostok have received a positive response everywhere.

The plan to reduce the military presence, including troops and missiles, in the Soviet Far East has now been completed. The logistical center of the Soviet Navy at Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam is also being phased out. Against this backdrop, the United States, which until recently continued to increase its military buildup in the Asian-Pacific, has also announced its decision to reduce its forces and armaments in 150 military facilities throughout the world, including in Japan and South Korea. It appears that sooner or later the U.S. bases in the Philippines will also be closed down.

Therefore, Malaysia seems to face no threat from anywhere. Besides, it is impossible to imagine Malaysia as an aggressor country. For this reason, why does Malaysia plan to spend a lot of money purchasing weapons? Even though Malaysia's economy is stable and the living standards of its people high, the country must have its own problems that require expenditures.

Some people have proposed that Malaysia reduce its foreign debts, which stand at about $20 billion. Some others have proposed that additional expenditures go to the country's social welfare programs. For instance, a lot of money is needed to cope with major problems, including environmental preservation. It is true that the current lifestyle has created serious problems in many countries. However, another alternative, suggested by the Indonesian daily MERDEKA, appears to make more sense: This world should not depend on fear, mutual suspicion, and increased combat capability. Instead, the world must depend more on mutual trust and an attitude of rejecting violence.

Mideast Crisis Seen To Effect Philippine Economy

HK0310031590 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines
1300 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Even though the Philippines is far away from the Persian Gulf, its economy is being greatly affected by the turmoil in that region. As a result of the present crisis, the Philippines has lost a great deal of the dollars which it receives yearly from its workers toiling in the Gulf nations as well as those in the Middle East. According to the Philippine Central Bank, before the present turmoil the country was receiving a yearly sum of about $1.2 billion, which was the main source of the country's dollar reserves. But since the start of the conflict, the amount has fallen to only $14.33 million.

Another blow has been an increase of 32 percent in the price of oil and its products, as a result of the shortage of oil supplies from Kuwait and Iraq. Hence a rise in inflation is a certainty.

According to the newspaper MALAYA, if the Gulf crisis goes on, this will mean that the Philippine economy will continue on its downward spiral. Economists say that by 1991, production by the industrial sector will not go beyond 2.7 percent, compared to production in 1987 which reached 5.6 percent.

Another problem faced by the Aquino government is the number of Filipinos in Kuwait and Iraq who have lost their jobs. Those who have been able to flee from both those countries have told of the great difficulties faced by the Asian workers caught in the middle of that conflict. Some witnesses say five Filipinos perished when Iraqi soldiers invaded Kuwait, and other reports say some 100 Filipinos were the victims of violence perpetrated by the Iraqi troops. Reports said these were arrested and attacked for committing minor infractions or because they tried to oppose the Iraqi soldiers.

Finally, those Filipinos who were able to go home to the Philippines returned minus any funds, because their money and belongings were confiscated in Kuwait.

Commentatary Views Philippines, U.S. Bases Talks

HK2909080790 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 28 Sep 90

[Commentary by Vassiliy Filipov]

[Text] No concrete agreement was reached by the two sides at the just-concluded talks [on U.S. military bases in the Philippines], except for the presentation of each side's position on the issue. At the next Manila-Washington meeting scheduled next month, the two sides are expected to discuss their respective priorities. For now, it is clear that both sides will discuss the reduction of U.S. military presence in the Philippines. Manila wants this achieved as soon as possible, while Washington is urging that the reduction be carried out gradually.

According to Filipov, one issue that should be taken note of is whether the two sides are ready to make a concession. On Manila's part, the most important point is the financial aspect, an issue that it has stressed at the recently concluded talks. It was discussion of financial issues which led last May's talks to a dead-end. Filipov said that during that time, Manila was able to convince the United States to agree to a bases agreement signed in 1988 where Manila was to receive $481 million for the last two years of the bases' stay in the country. However, at the start of this year, the U.S. Congress decided to cut back $96 million from the amount agreed upon in 1988, citing financial constraints confronting the United States.

According to Filipov, the talks also revealed that the United States did not fulfill its previous obligations. Philippine Foreign Affairs Secretary Raul Manglapus charged that the United States had in the past failed to pay Manila a total of $222 million. A U.S. promise to provide $130 million worth of military equipment and medicine did little to ease the atmosphere in the bilateral talks. Another sore point was the so-called mini-Marshall Plan which was intended to revive the Philippine economy and to which the United States had promised to pour billions of dollars to the Philippines. However, the program was only allocated a small amount and has yet to take off the ground.

While the Philippine economy has shown some improvements, it is still plagued by low production and high inflation rates. The tourism industry suffered due to lack of political stability and further deteriorated following a strong earthquake in June which brought destruction estimated at billions of pesos.

However, the Aquino administration should be commended for lowering its foreign debts as a result of the implementation of a number of policies by the Central Bank of the Philippines. One policy is the purchase of promisory notes from creditor banks at half their values. This has helped Manila pay off its interest payments.

Nevertheless, Filipov said the effect is short-term, adding that the Philippines's foreign debts are expected to increase owing to the rise of oil prices. According to the Central Bank, a one percent increase in the LIBOR rate represents a rise of $130 million in interest payment for the Philippines.

Filipov added that new situations, notably the increase of oil prices brought about by Iraq's aggression in Kuwait, will deal an even bigger blow to the Philippine economy. Domestic oil production accounts only for three percent of the country's growing oil consumption requirements. Based on the simplest estimation, the Philippines' oil bill for this year will be one and a half times higher than last year's. To meet this expenditure, the Aquino government has no choice but to increase the prices of gasoline and other oil products.

Moreover, Filipov said that Philippine workers who lost their jobs in Iraq and Kuwait will also mean a loss of an annual income of $3 billion to the country.

While the United States plays a big role in the financial woes confronting the Philippines at the moment, Manila is determined to dismantle the military bases. Hence, a proposal was officially put forth stating that the treaty providing for the retention of the Clark Air Base will not be renewed while Subic Naval Base will be maintained for only three years after expiration of the treaty.

On the part of the United States, it favors the gradual phaseout of the bases for a period of ten to 12 years. Manila indicated that Washington's proposal will be studied carefully. What will be its answer? This we will find out in the next round of talks between the two sides in October.

Near East & South Asia

Special Envoy Primakov Tours Gulf Region

Meets With Jordanian Leader

LD0310124290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1220 GMT 3 Oct 90

[By correspondent Gennadiy Marunin]

[Text] Amman, 3 Oct (TASS)—Yevgeniy Primakov, special representative of the president of the USSR and member of the Presidential Council, arrived in the Jordanian capital today. During his one-day visit he will meet with King Husayn and other highly placed officials and discuss with them the situation in the Near East.

On his arrival at the airport the Soviet representative stressed in an interview to Jordanian television that the Soviet Union favors a political settlement of the crisis in the Persian Gulf.

Delivers Message From Gorbachev

LD0310153590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1448 GMT 3 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Stranadko]

[Text] Amman, 3 Oct (TASS)—Yevgeniy M. Primakov, member of the USSR Presidential Council, met with King Husayn of Jordan here today.

He handed the king a message from USSR President Mikhail S. Gorbachev concerning the crisis in the Persian Gulf region. The message was received by the Jordanian monarch with profound satisfaction.

In the course of the conversation, acute concern was expressed over the danger of an armed conflict in the Gulf. Special stress was laid on the need for a political solution to the situation.

Meets With 'Arafat 3 Oct

LD0410102590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 4 Oct 90

[Text] Yevgeniy Primakov, member of the USSR Presidential Council, met Yasir 'Arafat, the leader of the PLO, in Amman on Wednesday.

The Soviet representative is heading for Baghdad to fulfill a special mission for the head of the Soviet state.

During the meeting the parties expressed themselves in favor of a political settlement of the conflict in the Persian Gulf. The PLO leader expressed the view that an Arab solution to the crisis is necessary.

Earlier, Comrade Primakov held a meeting with King Husayn of Jordan in which he gave him a message from USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. The main aim of Primakov's trip to Iraq is to establish normal conditions for the evacuation of 5,000 Soviet citizens from there.

Visits Iraq 4 Oct

LD0410104190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 4 Oct 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] After a meeting in Amman with King Husayn of Jordan and Yasir 'Arafat, leader of the PLO, Yevgeniy Primakov, member of the USSR Presidential Council, has arrived in Iraq. The main purpose of Primakov's trip to Iraq is the organization of the safe evacuation from Iraq of 5,000 Soviet citizens.

Meets Iraqi Foreign Minister

LD0410141890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1327 GMT 4 Oct 90

[Text] Nicosia, 4 Oct (TASS)—Ye. M. Primakov, special respresentative of the USSR president and member of the Presidential Council, arrived in Baghdad today from Amman. INA, the Iraqi news agency, reports that he is to hold talks with Iraqi officials on issues concerning the crisis in the Persian Gulf region.

Primakov said in a statement on his arrival that he will exchange views with the Iraqi side on the issues pertaining to the situation in the Persian Gulf. The situation in this region is a complex one, he said, emphasizing "the necessity of finding a political solution to the crisis, in order to avoid a military explosion."

The USSR president's special representative met with Tariq 'Aziz, the Iraqi foreign minister.

Purpose of Visit Noted

LD0410134790 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 4 Oct 90

["Comments" by Oleg Shchedrov]

[Excerpts] What is the purpose of [Presidential Council member Yevgeniy] Primakov's visit to Iraq? In New York the Soviet foreign minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, said that the main purpose of the mission would be to organize normal conditions for the evacuation of Soviet people from Iraq. [passage omitted]

It must be said that in the past few days the bellicose tone of the Iraqi leadership has been declining. Faced with tough international isolation the regime of Saddam Husayn is probably ready to retreat if it gets certain guarantees. Besides, the countries that have sent their forces to the Persian Gulf seem ready to give up their use if a political way out of the crisis is found. If a serious armed clash occurs in the area it will be tragic for all the sides involved.

It is reasonable to think that Primakov's tour is in some way linked to attempts to find a way out of the crisis without resorting to force. It's notable that literally on the eve of Primakov's departure from Moscow a White House spokesman said that the Soviet Union could play a big role in the political settlement of the conflict. It can't be expected, of course, that the knot of the conflict can be united at once, but it's very important to begin the dialogue.

Mideast Reportage on Primakov's Visits

WA0410134790

For reportage on the visit to Jordan and Iraq of Yevgeniy Primakov, advisor to President Gorbachev and member of the Presidential Council, and his accompanying delegation, please see the corresponding sections of the 3 October Near East & South Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Omani Deputy Premier Visits With Gorbachev

Conveys Message From Sultan

LD0410130190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1210 GMT 4 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow, 4 Oct (TASS)—Today USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev received Qays bin 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Zawawi, deputy prime minister of the Sultanate of Oman. He conveyed a message from the sultan. Thus yet another important step was taken in relations between the Soviet Union and Oman, to develop and deepen ties between the Soviet Union and the Arab world which, in turn, reflects profound changes in the entire world process.

It was noted with satisfaction that Soviet-Omani cooperation is being filled with concrete content and has assured a regular nature.

An exchange of views took place on the crisis in the Persian Gulf. The positions here are close. The USSR president expressed confidence in the possibility of averting the breakout of a war. Preserving its interaction, the United Nations is capable of achieving this. It is necessary to constantly seek a political way out and to continue the search for a peaceful settlement by acting strictly within the UN Security Council resolutions framework, and showing firmness and decisiveness.

The Soviet Union will, at this end, use its potential which supplements the potential at the disposal of others. Yevgeniy Primakov, personal representative of the Soviet president and Presidential Council member, is now on his way to Amman and Baghdad and there is hope that his meetings there will yield results.

It is apparent that there is a great deal of understanding of this problem, along with a readiness to interact.

M. Gorbachev expressed gratitude that Oman responded in a positive vein to the current problems of perestroyka and that it is ready to share its resources, having made large credits available. He conveyed to the sultan of Oman and the people of the country, very best wishes.

Relations Discussed

LD0410095690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 4 Oct 90

[Text] A conversation is under way in the Kremlin between USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Qays 'Abd al-Mun'im al- Zawawi, deputy prime minister for economic and financial affairs of the Sultanate of Oman.

Al-Zawawi arrived in the Soviet capital last evening on a working visit as a respresentative of the sultan of the state of Oman.

It is expected that, in the course of the meeting between the USSR president and the Omani figure, a range of issues relating to the development of relations between the two countries will be touched upon, and that international problems will also be discussed, in particular the situation in the Near East, including the situation in the Persian Gulf.

Nishanov Greets Omani Parliamentarians

LD0310165390 Moscow TASS in English 1443 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow October 3 TASS—A delegation of the State Consultative Council of the Sultanate of Oman led by its chairman Shaykh Abdullah Bin Ali al-Katabi today met Chairman of the Council of Nationalities of the Soviet Parliament Rafiq Nishanov and heads of several committees and commissions.

The delegation is visiting the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Soviet Parliament.

The sides exchanged views on prospects for the development of relations between the USSR and Oman. In discussing international issues, specifically the situation in the Middle East Soviet and Omani parliamentarians called for an end to the unlawful occupation and annexation of Kuwait by Iraq and for a peaceful settlement in the Gulf.

During its visit to the USSR, the first in the history of Soviet-Omani relations, the delegation was present at a joint meeting of the Soviet Parliament's chambers.

On the same day, the guests were received by the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee.

The delegation visited the Lenin Mausoleum and laid a wreath. It also laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier near the Kremlin Wall.

Shevardnadze Meets With Saudi, Syrian Ministers

LD0410123590 Moscow TASS in English 1202 GMT 4 Oct 90

[Text] New York October 4 TASS—In addition to Soviet-U.S. talks on Wednesday, which lasted for most of the day, Shevardnadze conferred with his counterparts who are attending the 45th U.N. General Assembly session in New York.

During their meeting, Shevardnadze and Saudi Foreign Minister Sa'ud al-Faysal Al Sa'ud continued to discuss the situation in the Gulf and Soviet-Saudi relations.

Shevardnadze also talked with Australian Foreign Minister Gareth John Evans. Discussing the United Nations' role in world affairs, they focused on the experience gained from the Gulf crisis, negotiations in the Asian-Pacific region and recent progress in the Cambodian settlement.

The talk between Shevardnadze and Syrian Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar' highlighted common assessments of the Gulf crisis and the situation in the Middle East as a whole. The ministers expressed mutual interest in developing friendly Soviet-Syrian relations.

Lukyanov Meets With United Arab Emirates Envoy

LD0410054190 Moscow TASS in English 1929 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow October 3 TASS—Chairman of the Soviet parliament Anatoliy Lukyanov met United Arab Emirates Ambassador Nasir Sulayman al-'Abbudi at his request here today.

The ambassador presented Lukyanov with a message by Federal National Council Speaker Hilal Bin-Ahmad Lutah about ways to develop parliamentary relations between the two countries.

He said United Arab Emirates are prepared to accept 100 Soviet children from areas contaminated by the Chernobyl nuclear accident for a month-long stay early next year.

Commenting on the Gulf crisis, Lukyanov reiterated the Soviet position on the issue, calling for a collective effort by all nations.

The United Nations should do all it can to reach an early settlement by political means, restore Kuwait's independence and sovereignty and ensure regional security, he said.

Majority Oppose Naval Deployment to Gulf

LD0210105290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 2 Oct 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The all-Union center for the study of public opinion in our country has cited statistics of the answer to the question: Would Soviet citizens approve of a decision to send Soviet military vessels to the Persian Gulf to participate in the blockade of Iraq together with other countries? Fifteen percent of those asked gave a positive answer, and 64 percent gave a negative response. Soviet citizens working in Iraq have still received no response to their letter to the Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. They asked to be brought out of this dangerous region. The letter is dated 4 September.

Iraqi Elite Forces Said Withdrawn From Kuwait

LD0310121790 Moscow TASS in English 1140 GMT 3 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Subbotin]

[Text] Damascus October 3 TASS—The elite units of the Iraqi Armed Forces—The National Guard—have been fully withdrawn from Kuwait on Saddam Husayn's order and deployed in Iraq's hinterland, the SANA news agency reported today with reference to Radio Riyadh.

SANA points out that the redeployment was mainly caused by manifestations of widespread discontent among these units over the plight they have found themselves in.

The radio said a group of senior National Guard officers demanded that the command ensure air support for the troops stationed in Kuwait. However, Husayn refused the demand and ordered a withdrawal of the National Guard, which has been regarded the mainstay of the regime, to Iraq.

The report draws attention to a misinformation campaign launched by Baghdad in an attempt to conceal facts concerning the actual development of events from its own people.

Trade Unions Call for Immediate Iraqi Evacuation

PM0410135690 Moscow TRUD in Russian 4 Oct 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Soviet People Should Be Evacuated Immediately"]

[Text] In connection with the sharp exacerbation of the military and political situation in Iraq, the presidium of the Central Council of the Federation of State Institution Workers Trade Unions, which coordinates the activity of trade union organizations in Soviet collectives abroad, has expressed serious concern about the situation of Soviet people in Iraq.

According to available information, the Iraqi administration is blocking exit from the country for workers in USSR institutions and specialists, who have in fact become hostages of Saddam Husayn's regime. An extremely tense situation is developing in the collectives, caused by the Iraqi side's actions, the increasing frequency of cases of provocation, armed threats against Soviet people, and increasing difficulties in obtaining food.

In connection with the prevailing situation, the Federation's Central Council Presidium has appealed to USSR Supreme Soviet deputies to ask the USSR Government to adopt all the necessary measures for the immediate evacuation of over 5,000 Soviet people from Iraq.

Commentaries Review, Assess Gulf Events

Benefits of Oil Embargo Denied

90UF0570A Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian No 38, 22 Sep 90 p 12

[Article by Gennadiy Gerasimov under the rubric "The World at the End of the Week": "Oil Complications"]

[Text] In God we trust, all others pay cash, pragmatic Americans say.

In other words, aggression must be punished, but prices for energy sources must conform to economics.

Take Mickey Mouse as an example. He is in a bad mood. As a matter of fact, the aviation companies added another 5.3 percent to the cost of what are already expensive tickets for air travel. And gasoline has gotten more expensive for auto travelers. And parents, who with their children intend to visit Mickey Mouse at "Disneyworld" in Florida or "Disneyland" in California, are returning to the study of the family budget to recheck priorities, taking changing circumstances into account. Mickey Mouse may have less than the expected number of visitors.

And all of this started on the other side of the world, with Iraq's seizure of Kuwait and with the embargo on the purchase of oil from both of these countries, which is stipulated in UN Security Council Resolution No. 661 concerning sanctions against Iraq. The embargo reduced the supply of oil on the world market by nine percent—that was the share of Iraq and Kuwait in the market. And prices crept upwards: At first for oil, and, later, almost immediately, for air tickets and for gasoline. The chain will be continued, and it may very negatively affect even the powerful American economy. According to accounts by American economists, if the price for oil in 1991 stays at a level of $32.00 per barrel, unemployment will rise to 7.4 percent—by an additional two million persons.

Difficult times are coming for the developing countries that do not have their own oil, and for countries of Eastern Europe where the increase in prices for oil products will make it difficult to conduct reforms.

But if Mickey Mouse and others have long faces, is not the Soviet oil exporter smiling, looking forward to an economic El Dorado? Especially if you add to this that they foresee an increase in the price of gold as part of the chain of consequences resulting from the absorption of the emirate.

In fact, one can read in the press that the jump in oil prices by $10.00 per barrel, which cannot be attributed to us, will bring the USSR no less than $5 billion of additional currency receipts. In the opinion of American experts, even without an increase in oil exports, the annual gain to the Soviet Union from the increase in oil prices and gold will be $7.25 billion.

Alas, we are not ready for the unexpected "gold windfall." At present, we are not increasing, but decreasing our oil exports, even violating our obligations.

The main reason is the drop in oil extraction.

It seems that we do not have the capability to sharply increase oil exports tomorrow (as, for example, Saudi Arabia is prepared to do) and to receive additional hard currency, which our economic reform is so short of.

Moreover, even the supposed gains from a growth in prices at the former level of our oil exports is canceled out by the break in our economic relations with Iraq and the worsening parameters of the world economy brought about by the Iraqi aggression. In particular, because of the predicted rise in the cost of credits on world financial markets.

The inevitable drop in cooperation and the equally inevitable doubts relating to the repayment of debts undermine all calculations regarding self-interested gains for the Soviet economy from what is happening in the Near East.

Add to this the losses from the cessation of economic cooperation with Kuwait.

Add, finally, the readiness of Saudi Arabia and a number of other oil producers to increase extraction to replace the lack of Iraqi and Kuwaiti oil and to maintain former prices and protect the world economy from otherwise possible shocks.

Thus, if the Soviet Union did receive some kind of an unexpected gain from the conflict in the Persian Gulf, in the long run it is reduced by inevitable losses. In addition, the Soviet Union, as a matter of principle, does not take an interest in making things difficult for the world economy—it is striving to be an integral part of it, and it now needs a helping hand, which will not be extended, if Saddam Husayn derails it.

No Differences With US Cited

PM0310134490 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 2 Oct 90 p 2

[Interview with Karen Brutents, deputy director of the CPSU International Department, by Massimo Boffa; place and date not given]

[Text] Karen Brutents, deputy director of the CPSU International Department, is in Italy, where he has attended the L'UNITA national festival in Modena. We asked Brutents—who in the past few days has met with PCI [Italian Communist Party] Secretary General Achille Occhetto and shadow foreign minister Giorgio Napolitano, among others—to talk to us about the Persian Gulf crisis and the USSR's position.

[Boffa] From the outset the Gulf crisis has been set in relation to the end of the cold war, inasmuch as the major innovation that distinguishes this regional crisis from all the others of the past 40 years is that the United States and the Soviet Union are cooperating actively to resolve it....

[Brutents] I wholly agree. This crisis is occurring under entirely new international conditions. With the collapse of the rationale of opposing blocs, local conflicts are no longer tackled from the viewpoint of the conflicts between the two superpowers, and it has become possible to regard them from the viewpoint of collective security, international law, and public ethics. If this approach had not prevailed, it would be difficult to imagine such a unanimous position on the part of the international community. Precisely because these positive potentials exist, the dangers inherent in the Iraqi aggression of setting back the entire situation are very sharply perceived.

[Boffa] Following the Helsinki summit between Bush and Gorbachev some commentators stressed what they saw as disagreements between the Soviets and Americans. Where do the two countries' positions on the Gulf crisis coincide now, and where do they differ?

[Brutents] I see no differences. The United States agrees with the general opinion that it is preferable to seek a political solution of the conflict and that the United Nations must be the forum in which all the international community's efforts to reject the Iraqi aggression are combined. Of course I read the American press and I could add, at most, that the American press displays more skepticism about the possibility of resolving the crisis by peaceful means.

[Boffa] Nevertheless everyone is wondering what the international community will do if the increasing political and diplomatic pressures fail to secure the Iraqi troops' withdrawal from Kuwait. The United States and its allies do not rule out the resourse to military methods in such an event. What is your position?

[Brutents] In his recent speech Shevardnadze clearly stated that the United Nations has the right to have recourse to any means including military force. So I can answer your question quite categorically: It is absolutely out of the question that Iraq's occupation of Kuwait could be accepted. If Baghdad's leaders adhere to their intransigent stance they will have to take full responsibility for the possible consequences.

[Boffa] If the United Nations were to decide in the future on some kind of military pressure against Iraq, would the Soviet Union take part with its own troops?

[Brutents] I believe that we would not shirk our responsibilities.

[Boffa] There is one interpretation that tries to portray the present conflict as one between the North and South of the world, between rich and poor countries. Even Saddam Husayn tries to portray himself as a champion of the underprivileged peoples....

[Brutents] I cannot accept such an interpretation, because we are dealing with an aggression by a large Arab state against a small Arab state, and the fact that Kuwait is a wealthy country does not alter the situation. Of course it is true that the general situation of relations between the North and South of the world has a negative influence on states of mind and on certain relations that have emerged in this conflict, and the Iraqi leaders try to exploit this factor. So we must not forget that North-South relations are a real problem that must be tackled in earnest. Nevertheless, I repeat, the interpretation that you mention is artificial and demagogic.

[Boffa] Nevertheless Saddam Husayn points out that many UN resolutions against Israel have remained a dead letter, without a mobilization of the international community as in this instance....

[Brutents] I too do not consider it normal that these resolutions have not been implemented and that Israel still occupies the territories of others. I believe that these resolutions must be implemented. But this cannot now justify the Iraqi aggression.

[Boffa] In Europe there has been a substantial convergence among the political forces on the need to actively support the UN decisions, partly by sending out troops. Nevertheless there is also a "pacifist" sector of the public that opposes any military movements as being intrinsically dangerous for peace....

[Brutents] I would try to explain to that sector of the public that the present situation is very different from the past and that the aggression must be rejected; otherwise no state will ever be able to feel safe and everything new and positive about international relations today—for which the pacifist movements have struggled for decades—could disappear. Second, I would say that the sending of troops does not yet mean war, that everything is being done to avoid a war, and that not only the pacifists but we too do not want a military solution of the conflict.

[Boffa] With regard to the future, what kind of solutions do you hope for in the Middle Eastern area?

[Brutents] This is difficult to talk about, because a great deal will depend on the outcome of the present crisis. However, I do see certain general principles that should govern the settlement of this area's conflicts. First, such a settlement must meet the legitimate interests of all the sides involved, on the basis of balance, security, and sovereignty. Second, it must meet the Palestinian people's legitimate interests. In the future there will probably also have to be a general security system for this area's countries. Proper limits must also be set on the stockpiling of weapons. Last, the social and economic problems of the region's peoples will also have to be resolved.

[Boffa] One of the key elements in the present Gulf crisis is the UN role. In past years, however, the United Nations has not had a reputation as a very effective body. What are the conditions now for the United Nations to be able to work properly as an international "government body"?

[Brutents] Iraq's aggression against Kuwait and the ensuing tension are extremely dangerous and negative from every viewpoint. However, I will permit myself to say that if this crisis has had a positive aspect it lies in the powerful injection of vitality that has resulted from it for the United Nations. It has acted as a stimulus to the realization of the need for an effective system of collective security. I do not know what measures can be taken in the short term, nor do I believe that the United Nations can function as an outright "world government" in the immediate future, but it does seem to me that in recent weeks a very major and perhaps decisive step forward has been taken toward the United Nations' becoming the effective security instrument that its founding fathers envisaged.

Lack of Arab Consensus Seen

90UF0583A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Sep 90 First Edition p 3

[Article by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA international commentator Maj R. Mustafin under the rubric "The World Today: Problems and Opinions": "The Arab East: Time Does Not Wait"]

[Text] The Iraqi aggression and the subsequent development of events in the Persian Gulf region have shown that the Arab world is embarking on a new era. The status quo in the Near and Middle East is changing before our eyes, and new factors, which will further influence the formation of the military and political situation at the regional and global levels, are coming into play.

Iraq's invasion of Kuwait has drawn a line, as it were, beneath the condition of the Arab states which prevailed for more than a decade since the signing of the Camp David accords and the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel. Ideas of interaction, which had become habitual, are being transformed, old ties and relations are collapsing, and new ones emerging, and the fundamental principles of the course of foreign policy and military policy in these countries are being revised.

Even prior to the start of the present conflict in the Persian Gulf the Arab states, which were not over burdened with unity, were essentially split into two camps—pro-Iraqi and pro-Saudi. The state of shock and confusion characteristic of the Arabs in the first days following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait gave way quite quickly to their movement along the new power lines which have emerged in the Arab arena. This movement was initiated by Saudi Arabia's decision to agree to an American military presence on its territory. This decision was tantamount to the crossing of the Near East Rub Al Khali. After all, even at the most dangerous moments of the Iran-Iraq war neither Saudi Arabia nor other Arab states of the Persian Gulf succumbed to U.S. pressure and permitted foreign forces to set foot on their territory.

Merely the fact that in line with the buildup of American military power the anti-American, pro-Iraqi mood has been intensifying and a wave of Arab nationalism and Islamic fundamentalism has been rising higher and higher, and that the countries which at the start of the conflict at least condemned the Iraqi aggression are now increasingly leaning toward Iraq, testifies that the main line of the fissure in the Arab world runs precisely along the issue of the foreign military presence in the region. Arguments concerning a settlement of the Kuwait conflict are increasingly switching to the level of the Arab-American confrontation. And it is no longer Kuwait which is the victim of Iraqi aggression, but Baghdad which is being presented as a victim of the intrigues of imperialism and Zionism. Although it is clear that Baghdad's expansion boosted this development of events. And it was this expansion which led to the new alignment of forces in the region.

Syria, one of the last Arab countries to normalize relations with Egypt, is sending its forces to Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, where they will be alongside Egyptian and Moroccan units, not to mention American forces. Some observers see this as the start of the formation of a new axis: Rabat—Cairo—Damascus. How justified these forecasts are time will tell. But in the opinion of THE WASHINGTON POST, the crisis in the Persian Gulf "has accelerated the process of Syrian President H. al-Asad's abandonment of the Syrian Government's traditional hard line in favor of closer cooperation with the United States and its main Arab allies."

Yesterday's Arab Cooperation Council partners—Iraq and Egypt—which have in the last decade sought the position of regional superpowers—are now viewing one another across the Arabian desert through the notches on their gun sights. But even recently they were supporting one another. During the Iran-Iraq war Egypt supplied Iraq with arms and manpower, and Iraq did much to ensure Egypt's return to the Arab world.

Yemen and Jordan, two other members of the Arab Cooperation Council, which has essentially collapsed, have found themselves between the two strongly active poles. On the one hand they formally condemned Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, on the other, together with Libya, Sudan, Tunisia and the PLO, they support Iraq.

Iran, Iraq's recent enemy in an eight-year war, while condemning the aggression against Kuwait and demanding the withdrawal of the Iraqi forces, considers the priority a struggle for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the region. The pronouncements of Ayatollah Khamenei to the effect that "struggle against the aggressions, ambitions, and plans of the United States is regarded as a holy war" are seen by many observers as indirect support for Baghdad in the event of a direct confrontation with the United States and the Western countries.

Some Palestinian organizations and groups have changed their "sponsors" and have even relocated to Iraq, criticizing Damascus and calling on it to "change its mind." The Western media are giving notice of possible acts of terrorism by the most extremist Palestinian groups. But bitter clashes between different Palestinian factions were erupting not that long ago in Lebanon.

The crisis in the Persian Gulf has created new obstacles to a resumption of the peace process in the Near East, a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, a solution of the Palestinian problem and emergence from the Lebanese deadlock. None of the torpedoes fired at the peace process by Israel in recent years has, most likely, hit its target with such accuracy or had such an effect as has Iraq in swallowing up Kuwait in the twinkling of an eye and giving the Israelis powerful trump cards in their game with the Arabs.

However, as far as Israel itself is concerned, against which such terrifying threats were being heard on the eve of the August events, it has, I would say, gotten away with a mild fright. It is this, in all probability, which explains what is for Israel a quite moderate and restrained position, as it considers the conflict "the Arabs' internal affair." Tel Aviv itself, on the other hand, in the clamor and confusion which have been raised, is asking Washington for new consignments of weapons. This week Israeli Defense Minister M. Arens requested from the United States an increase of $700 million in annual military assistance.

It is not that easy in the current situation to answer the question of when the Arab factor, about which M.S. Gorbachev spoke at the joint news conference in Helsinki, will be engaged in resolving the crisis situation. President Bush also agreed that the Arab states can and should play a positive part. Passing the test of the new political thinking, overcoming contradictions and disagreements which have built up over the years, displaying political willpower and courage, and oneself surmounting division and emerging from the deadlock is not, of course, easy under current conditions. The crisis in the Persian Gulf has been reflected in the activity of the Arab League also. Barely more than half of the members of this organization participated in the last meeting of the Arab League. Disagreements on the issue of the attitude toward Iraq's actions led to the resignation of its general secretary, Klibi.

In this connection observers' attention has been attracted by a peace initiative presented by Libya. The essence of it amounts to a simultaneous withdrawal of American forces from Saudi Arabia and Iraqi forces from Kuwait, with their subsequent replacement by Islamic-Arab forces and UN forces respectively. Certain Arab countries belonging to different camps, Saudi Arabia, for example, have agreed to this proposal. Although the Kuwaiti Government in exile has rejected this initiative, despite all its possible shortcomings, it instills hope and could create the prerequisites for bridge-building between the Arabs. Hope is instilled also by the increased diplomatic activity in the Arab world, by which recent days have been marked. True, this is not being pursued quickly enough, perhaps. Time does not wait.

Shevardnadze, Israel's Levi 'Optimistic' on Ties

*PM0210142990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
2 Oct 90 Morning Edition p 4*

[TASS report under general heading "Meetings In New York"]

[Text] New York, 1 Oct—During a conversation between E.A. Shevardnadze and Israeli Foreign Minister D. Levi, in order to facilitate the solution of humanitarian questions and promote the development of mutually advantageous contacts between the two countries, an accord was reached on turning the consular groups of the USSR and Israeli Foreign Ministries in Tel Aviv and Moscow into official consular institutions—consulates general.

E.A. Shevardnadze drew attention to the need for active, practical efforts to reduce tension in the Near East and settle the problems that exist there. In this context there was an exchange of opinions on the prospects of dialogue on peace and security questions in the Near East. The sides agreed to create a mechanism for regular consultations between the two countries' foreign ministries, including at foreign minister level.

The Israeli minister spoke highly of the Soviet Union's contribution to the transformation of international relations, including the Soviet Union's role in efforts to resolve Near East problems. Both sides were optimistic about the future development of relations between the Soviet Union and Israel.

Shevardnadze Calls Ties With India 'Exemplary'

*LD0210222990 Moscow TASS in English 2212 GMT
2 Oct 90*

[By TASS correspondents Mikhaild Kochetkov, Yevgeniy Menkes, and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] New York October 3 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze on Tuesday described relations between the Soviet Union and India as "unique and exemplary."

Shevardnadze was speaking to Soviet reporters after his meeting with his Indian counterpart Kumar Inder Gujral.

He said the nature of Soviet-Indian relations was determined by a number of "historic" documents and agreements, including the Soviet- Indian declaration on a nuclear-free and non-violent world.

"Our meeting with the Indian colleague was held in a wonderful atmosphere, in conditions of complete mutual understanding and support," Shevardnadze said.

"We discussed a wide range of problems, international and regional, as well as bilateral relations. We also spoke about the settlement of the Afghan and Cambodian issues."

Gujral told reporters that they also discussed the Persian Gulf crisis and that their views on ways to settle the conflict "completely coincided."

Commenting on the Afghan issue, the Indian minister said that Soviet-Afghan and Afghan-Indian relations were an important link in the successful development of cooperation between the Soviet Union and India.

Arab Officials Meet on Bettering Iran-Iraq Ties

NC0310101990 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Station commentary]

[Text] Iran's Ambassador to Pakistan, Javad Mansuri, met with some of the leaders of Afghan opposition groups which are members of the Peshawar-based seven-party alliance in Islamabad. The two sides discussed their mutual acts at a time of crisis in the Persian Gulf and the normalization of Iranian-Iraqi relations. Our commentator writes on this:

The crisis in the Persian Gulf has placed the Afghan mujahidin in a difficult situation. The issue is that these Afghan mujahidin did not take into consideration some aspects and the delicate nature of relations between their two mentors—that is, Tehran and Riyadh. Following in their mentors' footsteps, the Afghan mujahidin condemned Iraq's aggression against Kuwait. They even sent 2,000 armed men and volunteers to Saudi Arabia.

Meanwhile, the Afghan opposition leaders pursued two objectives. The first was to be freed from the Saudi fanatics whose cruelty and plunder had caused the Afghans to detest them. The second was to help in safeguarding the Muslim holy shrines since most Muslims consider the increasing presence of American military personnel in Saudi Arabia to threaten these shrines.

These objectives conform with Iran's objectives but not with the Saudi objectives. According to UPI, Saudi Arabia did not ask the Afghan opposition for military support. When many groups of Saudi combatants left their country to fight in Afghanistan, Saudi moderates sighed with relief. These Saudis hoped that their armed men would remain there. One wonders what their actions were in their own country.

Meanwhile the Iranian leadership supports the idea of forming a multinational Islamic force to defend the holy shrines on Saudi territory. The Iranian leadership itself has proposed that Iranian forces be sent to Saudi territory within the structure of this multinational force. Tehran strongly opposes the presence of America's Rapid Deployment force in the Arabian peninsula. Iranian fundamentalists consider American threats in the region to be more serious than Iraqi threats. [Words indistinct] that the Persian Gulf crisis took place at a time when noteworthy and basic progress was made in the solution of the Iran-Iraq problem.

Generally speaking, the rivalry between Tehran and Riyadh over who will be the player in solving the fate of the Islamic world has had its effects on the different assessments by these two [word indistinct] on the American military presence.

I do not know about the outcome of the visit to Islamabad. But this visit has probably drawn the great attention of Saudi politicians. They are following Iran's steps in not only the Persian Gulf but also in Afghanistan with concern. But it is clear that during the Islamabad meeting problems pertaining to both regions were discussed. If those who have been drawn into the Afghanistan and the Persian Gulf conflicts have any wishes for peace and political agreement, then there would not be any need for such concerns over such meetings. But as long as they consider their egotistic ambitions to be above the interests of peace, the peace and security of the peoples of Afghanistan, Iran, and the Arab countries of the Persian Gulf will not be guaranteed and no progress will be achieved toward a political solution of regional conflicts.

Afghan Rebels Decline Yeltsin Invitation

PM0310153390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Sep 90 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Mujahidins' Reply"]

[Text] Islamabad, 27 Sep—The information service of the "Information Ministry of the Transitional Government of Afghanistan" in Peshawar has issued a communique which says:

"An official spokesman of the provisional Islamic government of Afghanistan has confirmed that an invitation to visit the Soviet Union was sent by Yeltsin to a number of leaders of the Afghan armed opposition, including Mujaddedi. He also stressed that the proposal, which contains no details, does not make it clear whether this is evidence of a substantial change of attitude in the Kremlin's policy toward Afghanistan or whether it simply reflects Yeltsin's personal view of Russian policy regarding the Afghan resistance."

The "Information Ministry" communique goes on to indicate that "the leaders of the Afghan resistance parties have made the release of prisoners of war dependent on ending support for the Najibullah regime, giving Afghans the right to decide their own future without any interference from the Russians, paying the Afghans military reparations, releasing all Afghans held on political grounds, and, finally, securing a firm assurance from the Russians that they will never invade Afghanistan again."

"The Afghan resistance leadership," the communique says, "will study every aspect of Yeltsin's initiative and its possible political impact on the Afghan jihad. Taking account of past experience when the Russians have failed to keep their promises, and also considering the continuing Soviet interference in Afghan affairs, acceptance of this invitation is not a priority for the foreseeable future as far as the Afghan leaders are concerned."

Commentary Views Pakistani Nuclear Program

BK0410142590 Moscow in Urdu to Pakistan 1300 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Commentary by Aleksandr Batev]

[Text] Reports from Washington say the U.S. Administration is insisting that the Congress waive the restriction on aid to Pakistan. Our commentator Aleksandr Batev writes:

The restriction on economic assistance to Islamabad was imposed on 1 October, the first day of the new U.S. fiscal year. The President of the United States, according to U.S. law, is required to assure the Congress in advance that the countries which will be receiving U.S. economic aid do not possess nuclear weapons and are not working to acquire them. Despite the obvious military nature of Pakistan's nuclear program, guarantees were provided on a number of occasions in the past in Pakistan's favor. This was because Washington thought it wise to ignore Pakistan's nuclear program so as to continue U.S. assistance to the Afghan mujahidin. But the U.S. interest in Pakistan started diminishing following the Soviet pullout from Afghanistan and then Pakistan's nuclear program became a much-talked-about topic in the United States. Even the CIA claimed that Pakistan was moving close to the stage of producing nuclear weapons. All this led to an outcome. That is, Bush did not give any testimony to the Congress this year that Pakistan was not a country with nuclear capability.

So, why has the situation changed now? Why is the U.S. Administration pressuring the Congress to waive the restriction on assistance to Pakistan? The answer to this question can be traced to the crisis in the Gulf. The United States wants Islamabad to support U.S. deterrent forces' operation against Iraqi aggression. In other words, to protect the U.S. interests in the global center of oil outflow. It has been reported that a regional security system will be established in the Gulf after U.S. troops withdraw from there in which Pakistani Armed Forces will have a major role. Washington has strong feelings about the plan and therefore it is prepared to ignore the military nature of Pakistan's nuclear program. Washington says that the restriction on Pakistan will be temporarily lifted. It also says that the U.S. Administration will ask the new government which emerges after the elections in Pakistan to slow down the pace of nuclear arms production. But it is not going to set things right. Renowned international analyst (Leonard Specter), says the waiving of restrictions will mean: Yes, we declare to the world that Pakistan does possess nuclear weapons, but this is not our affair.

It is hoped that Pakistan's neighbor, India, will not pay any attention to the Pakistani nuclear program. If India feels that Washington cannot be relied upon in checking Pakistan's nuclear program, then India itself will probably re-embark on its nuclear program, thereby reviving the nuclear arms race in South Asia. It may be recalled that we have warned of such a situation on a number of occasions in the past. After all, it can never be termed as a pleasant future.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Supreme Soviet Delegation Arrives in Angola

LD0210034690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1803 GMT 1 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Zubkov]

[Text] Luanda, 1 Oct (TASS)—At the invitation of the People's Assembly of Angola, the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation led by A.A. Malofeyev, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, arrived in Luanda for an official visit on Monday. At the Luanda airport, the delegation was welcomed by Lucio Lara, Manuel Diogo da Silva Neto, secretaries of the People's Assembly (parliament), and other officials.

In the course of a four-day visit, the Soviet delegation will lay wreaths at the mausoleum of Agostino Neto, first president of the People's Republic of Angola, will meet members of the standing commission of the Angolan parliament, and leaders of the Republic's party and government, and will tour the country.

On arriving in Luanda, the head of the Soviet delegation told local and foreign journalists that this is the first visit by a delegation from a new USSR Supreme Soviet to the People's Republic of Angola within the framework of traditional exchanges between the parliamentaries of the two countries. He noted that the visit is taking place in special circumstances, when both countries are implementing political, economic, and social reform. The purpose of the visit is to exchange working experience with Angolan colleagues and to specify the range of problems of mutual interest.

South African CP Leader Views on Party's Future

*90UF0571A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Sep 90 Second Edition p 4*

[Report on interview with Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party, by M. Zenovich, PRAVDA correspondent; place and date not given: "Old Habits Die Slowly"]

[Text] **South Africa at the beginning of the sixties. The apartheid government is increasing its mass repressions against participants in the liberation struggle. Among the "disturbers of the peace," whom the secret police were especially persistent in catching, is the young Johannesburg lawyer Joe Slovo who became known for his defense of political prisoners and scathing denunciations of racist policies. He was forced to go underground and then leave the Republic of South Africa.**

Years passed. Slovo's wife, Ruth Fyorst, who was driven from the country by racists, died in Mozambique in 1982 as a result of sabotage perpetrated by the Pretoria special service. A film, "A Divided World," was recently made in England using the scenario of her daughter, Shawn Slovo. It shows the tragedy of her family through the eyes of an adolescent girl. And after 27 years in exile, the general secretary of the legalized South African Communist Party returned to his homeland and, along with the vice president of the legalized African National Congress [ANC], Nelson Mandela, who had spent 27 years in the racists' jails, sat down to the negotiating table with the president of the Republic of South Africa, Frederik de Klerk, to talk about dismantling apartheid and finding ways of building a new, democratic South Africa. A PRAVDA correspondent met with Joe Slovo.

[Zenovich] The film "A Divided World," which was shown in Moscow during British Film Week, masterfully conveyed the atmosphere of fear and tension that prevailed in the Republic of South Africa for decades. Does it continue to exist to this day? What did you experience when you stepped onto your native soil after so many years of confrontation with the regime?

[Slovo] Changes. You notice them literally everywhere. People with skin of different colors do not look at one another with sideways glances as they did before. In places where at one time blacks were forbidden to go, now you see them at every step—unfettered, uncoerced. People are clearly living in expectation of something better. And I saw all this first hand when I visited Belleview—the region of Johannesburg in which I grew up.

[Zenovich] Nonetheless, after your return the right-wing press kept singing the familiar song about a "communist conspiracy."

[Slovo] Old habits, as they say, die hard. Moreover, inside the ruling elite there are still influential forces that would like to split up the liberation movement and especially to drive a wedge between the ANC and the Communist Party. Here is another piece of proof of that: Recently in Brussels at a congress of the ill-fated World Anticommunist League, the head of the information service of the ruling Nationalist Party of the Republic of South Africa announced that "communists dominate" in the ANC leadership. Those who are frightened by the changes have clearly steered things to the point of excluding the Communist Party from participation in the negotiations and, on a broader plane, in resolving the country's fate in general.

[Zenovich] And how will the story end?

[Slovo] In the first place, we have offered irrefutable proof of the groundlessness of the accusations of conspiracy that have been leveled against us. In the second place, the broad democratic forces of the Republic of South Africa have spoken out in our defense. We were clearly convinced of the weightiness of their support at a rally that took place in the city stadium in Soweto on 29 July. More than 60,000 people gathered, of whom 5,000 were representatives of the national miners' union, the largest detachment of the working class in the country.

[Zenovich] But still, could a situation arise in which the paths of the ANC and the Communist Party would diverge?

[Slovo] All the experience in cooperation between us tells of the opposite. I recall that both Nelson Mandela and the president of the ANC, Oliver Tambo, began their political activity as anticommunists. But the real-life practice of the liberation struggle has always proved the expediency of bringing our positions closer together. After all, the Communist Party defends first of all the interests of the organized working class of the Republic of South Africa, and today this is the most important part of the opposition to apartheid. There are no walls separating the ANC and the Communist Party. Our alliance is based on mutual understanding of the fact that any monopolistic claims to power, to the truth, to the separation of socialism from democracy are ultimately fruitless. Incidentally, this was also discussed at the rally in Soweto I mentioned above.

[Zenovich] These days we are receiving all kinds of reports from there—about outbreaks of violence and bloody conflicts among various groups of the black population. What has happened?

[Slovo] I have already said that far from everyone who is in power likes the intended transformation. This pertains, for example, to the police, which has a ramified agency throughout the country. Moreover, in South African society, which has lived for so many years under conditions of violence, the lack of rights of the majority, and social contrasts, there are immense reserves of "inflammable material"—bitterness, anger, hardness, poverty, backwardness. This creates a nutritive environment for the activity of criminal elements as well and for all kinds of provocations. Sometimes it is enough to hear an absurd rumor to light the spark, and they make extensive use of ethical contradictions and prejudices. In particular, the migrant worker dormitories, where people from the country who have come to earn a piece of bread live, have become hotbeds of disturbances.

Neither the ANC nor the Communist Party has a part in this violence. We are trying to maintain an atmosphere in which negotiations are possible. At the same time we are reminding de Klerk of the need to rein in the conservatives who are impeding the reformist course. After all, it was under this condition that we ceased armed battle.

[Zenovich] Do you believe de Klerk is sincere? Can one assert that the process of reform will not be turned back?

[Slovo] I think de Klerk has realized that as long as there is apartheid the regime will not be able to control the situation in the country. As we know, he himself belongs to the right wing of the ruling elite, and at the basis of the transformations he has initiated lies; not ideological perspicacity but a sober analysis of the situation, which convinces one that without them South Africa has no future, that the specific form of South African capitalism that is based on arbitrariness and the cheap labor of the black majority has gone bankrupt. Of course, it is still too soon to speak about the idea that the process is irreversible. After all, the work on the new constitution has not yet been started, and the basic laws of apartheid that pertain to racial classification and privileges of individual racial groups have not been abolished. The social conditions have not changed. The white minority controls 97 percent of the economy and it takes the lion's share of the income. The whites have all the trump cards in their hands—capital, knowledge, technology. And they are not at all inclined to be philanthropic. Therefore, the main struggle will develop around the question of how radical the democratic transformations will be and to what extent the hopes of the majority will be satisfied.

[Zenovich] What can South African Communists do under these conditions?

[Slovo] Now that the party has been legalized it has turned into an unknown. But we do not intend, figuratively speaking, to "storm the Winter Palace," as our enemies say we do. We told de Klerk: You do not control the situation in the country and we do not control it either. But without your participation and ours, a peaceful solution to the problems of South Africa is impossible. This does not mean that the solutions that have been found will join together other forces in the Republic of South Africa. But someone must begin the dialogue. We intend to participate most actively in the development of the democratic reforms. A special group will engage in this.

[Zenovich] The Western press is expressing "surprise" about the growth of the popularity of the South African Communist Party against the background of, as they call it, the "crisis of the world communist movement." A version about some kind of "unique phenomenon" has been put into circulation.

[Slovo] Since the ban on our party's activity was removed, tens of thousands of South Africans have been submitting applications for acceptance. The facts speak for themselves. But there is no "mystery" in this. We began our "perestroyka" as early as the seventies. I wrote about what it consisted of recently in a brochure entitled "Has Socialism Suffered a Defeat?" (It was published in AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 6-7, 1990.) I can say only that we have gotten away from the idea of Marxism as a childish "do-it-yourself" formula in which it is sufficient to put all the prepared parts together according to the instructions. Marxism is an instrument that works only in the hands of a skilled master. Socialism can undoubtedly be effective without the negative consequences that have left their stamp on many of its major goals. But faith in the future alone is not enough. It is necessary to assimilate the lessons of the past. First of all, we must reach a point where the main principle—socialist democracy—occupies a worthy place in our future activity.

Supreme Soviet Delegation Ends Zimbabwe Visit

LD0110205190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1055 GMT 1 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Yuriy Pichugin]

[Text] Harare, 1 Oct (TASS)—Today a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation led by A.A. Malofeyev, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, completed its official visit to Zimbabwe. The Soviet parliamentaries, who are touring a number of countries in southern Africa, have already visited Namibia. Before returning home, they are to visit Angola.

Speaking at the airport before departure, the head of the Soviet delegation expressed satisfaction with the meetings and conversations with Zimbabwe's state and public figures and members of the supreme body of legislative power in the republic, which took place during the visit. He pointed out that the meetings of parliamentarians in Moscow and Harare, which have already become a tradition, make an important contribution to the further strengthening of ties of friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

A joint Soviet-Zimbabwean communique was signed on the results of the Soviet parliamentary delegation's visit to Zimbabwe.

East Europe

CPSU Secretariat Greets Bulgarian Party Congress

PM0210120590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

[Message from the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat to the 39th Bulgarian Socialist Party Congress]

[Text] Dear Comrades,

On behalf of Soviet Communists we warmly greet the delegates to the 39th Bulgarian Socialist Party Congress and all followers of socialist ideals.

Our parties have involved their adherents and friends in the profound revolutionary transformations intended to render truly humane such lofty concepts as people's power, social justice, and harmony of national interests. This work is enormous in its scale and responsibility and demands great efforts, consolidation, and solidarity on the part of those who adhere to the socialist option.

In this decisive phase we wish our friends success for the good of the Bulgarian people.

[Signed] The CPSU Central Committee Secretariat

Silayev, Bulgaria's Lukanov Discuss Economic Ties

PM0210121390 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 27 Sep 90 Second Edition p 4

[Report by V. Afanasyev under the rubric: "International Information": "Toward New Relations"]

[Text] Talks between I.S. Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, and A. Lukanov, chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers, took place 26 September in Moscow. Problems of economic cooperation were discussed and mutual understanding was reached on all the questions discussed. A. Lukanov specifically noted that, although Bulgaria is now experiencing a difficult period, when many traditional ideas are changing and established ties are breaking down, economic relations with Russia remain an important factor of economic life for Bulgaria. On this note he stressed that switching economic ties to convertible currency is a complex process requiring some sort of transitional phase, and that thorough financial and technical study is needed here.

Bulgaria, A. Lukanov stated, is ready to develop interbranch and interregional ties and relations between enterprises, including small enterprises and even individual entrepreneurs. We, he added, can deliver consumer goods, foodstuffs, and equipment for the food industry, for example small meat processing lines and workshops, to the Russian Federation and we are ready to participate on a contract basis in the construction of social and other facilities.

At N.I. Ryzhkov's suggestion the question of the possibility of sending to Bulgarian sanatoria children from Bryansk and other Russian oblasts which suffered the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Electric Power Station was considered. The Bulgarian side greeted this initiative with complete understanding.

Agreement was reached to carry out all necessary work so that a treaty on economic cooperation between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the RSFSR is signed before the end of November.

Lukanov Cited on Outcome of Visit

PM0210161790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Kapralov: "'There Is No Alternative to Our Relations with the USSR,' Andrey Lukanov Declared on Returning from Moscow"]

[Text] Sofia—As already reported, Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers, has returned to Sofia after talks in Moscow.

At the airport he granted an interview to the journalists who met him. The Bulgarian public, he declared, had the feeling that some miracles would happen during my visit to Moscow and that our problems would be resolved as though at the wave of a magic wand. This is no longer possible. Profound changes have come about in the nature of our cooperation. There is no going back to those serene times when Bulgaria was protected against all the shocks of the world market, oil crises, and circumstantial upheavals thanks to stable and broad ties with the Soviet Union.

In the USSR, A. Lukanov continued, profound changes are occurring in the structures of power and in the distribution of functions and powers at various levels, and it is no longer possible to guarantee the fulfillment of particular pledges thanks to one decision adopted at the center. Our relations are being purged of ideological approaches to economic ties. The Soviet Union, above all, was the conduit of that approach, A. Lukanov pointed out, and it has paid the price for it.

Changes in the system of transactions and prices are very painful for us, the Bulgarian premier continued. Until now transactions have been conducted in transfer rubles. We settled accounts in goods, 90 percent of which would hardly be in demand on the international market. We must now settle accounts in competitive products which even the Soviet consumer would not refuse to pay for in currency. In addition, exports and imports will be made on the basis of world prices.

Prices within CEMA, A. Lukanov continued, have recently become so deformed that last year alone the USSR overpaid East European countries to the tune of between eight and 10 billion transfer rubles. It in fact incurred losses owing to these prices and subsidized East European countries. No ideology can maintain such an unnatural position, and it is necessary to switch to the normal trade terms which exist throughout the world.

Maybe some people were hoping that a single visit at such a level would resolve all problems, oil would once again flow to us as in past decades, and we would do our usual thing—strikes, disputes, and rallies—and wait to see who would bail us out: the Soviet Union or America. If these were the expectations, I must disappoint our public....

At the same time, I believe that the visit achieved its purpose. We will preserve relations with the USSR in the main areas. They are vitally important to us, and there is no alternative to them. Everyone must understand this.

A. Lukanov went on to declare that oil deliveries to Bulgaria are already being normalized this month—up to 600,000 tonnes a month. We hope, he said, that this level will be sustained through the end of the year.

During the Moscow meeting between A. Lukanov and N. Ryzhkov the latter said that "there will be peculiarities" in transactions with Bulgaria in convertible currency. Naturally, the question of which "peculiarities" were meant was raised.

"Gorbachev and Silayev also stated this," A. Lukanov pointed out. "In my opinion, the sense of those words is that the Soviet side takes account of the close ties between our countries, as well as our traditional friendly relations, which are above party biases. Compared with other East European countries, the Bulgarian economy was the most closely linked with the Soviet economy, and a sharp disruption of this situation would create far more acute problems for us."

"Are there any complaints against Bulgarian suppliers?" a correspondent for the newspaper DUMA asked.

"Unfortunately, they lag behind badly, and they do so in areas in which the Soviet side is particularly interested. According to the Soviet side's data, this laggardness costs it almost half a billion rubles. Certain tolerance is shown toward us, taking into account the grave state of our economy, but we can hardly count on this for long."

A. Lukanov reported that, effective 1 January, mutual transactions between Bulgaria and the USSR will begin in convertible currency. "The switch to convertible currency will cost our economy between 1.5 and two billion rubles. But no one is duty bound to maintain us, as was the case before."

Comparison of Lukanov's Talks With Ryzhkov

PM0110134590

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 27 September 1990 in its Morning Edition on page 4 carries a TASS report entitled "N.I. Ryzhkov Meets With A. Lukanov". The IZVESTIYA item has been compared with the translation of the Moscow TASS International Russian version published in the East Europe section of the 27 September issue of the Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, p 29, revealing the following variations:

Column one, paragraph one, sentence one reads: [Text] Talks were held on 25 September between N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman... (deleting dateline, substituting "on 25 September" for "today")

Column two, last sentence of item reads: ...cooperation and interaction.

Taking part in the conversation were Yu.D. Maslyukov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee; V.K. Gusev and S.A. Sitaryan, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers, and V.V. Sharapov, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria; on the Bulgarian side—Ch. Aleksandrov, chairman of the intergovernmental delegation for economic cooperation; G. Pankov, Bulgarian ambassador to the USSR; and other officials. (adding paragraph)

Troop Withdrawal From CSFR To Finish by Mid-1991

PM0210150790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Oct 90 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Soviet Troop Withdrawal Goes On"]

[Text] Prague, 1 Oct—Three military trains have crossed the border in the region of the Slovak city of Cierna-nad-Tisou and Chop in the Ukraine. A sizeable proportion of the garrison quartered in the central Slovak city of Zvolen has now returned to the Soviet Union.

Since the beginning of the year, a total of 402 trains carrying Soviet military servicemen and combat hardware have crossed the border in this region. Over 50 percent of the personnel of Soviet units stationed on Czechoslovak territory have now left the country, CTK reports. It is noted that 70 percent of tanks and artillery pieces and 80 percent of aircraft have now left the country. The Soviet troop withdrawal will be completed by the middle of next year.

Goncz Visits Kiev, Meets With Opposition Figures

LD2809203390 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 28 Sep 90

[Text] Today in Kiev, Arpad Goncz met with leaders of the local Hungarian Studies Center. Among the neighboring countries this is the only one with a center for Hungarian studies and research. At the airport in Uzhgorod early this afternoon a crowd of several thousands greeted the president of the Hunagrian Republic. The chairman of the regional council, who is also the first secretary of the party here, informed the president of the Hungarian Republic about the problems of the region and asked for the active participation of our country in the development of the Sub-Carpathian region in providing more widespread tuition for Hungarian-speakers.

This morning, while still in Kiev, Arpad Goncz had discussions with representatives of the Ukrainian Writers Association and the Ukrainian opposition movements, including Rukh [Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka]. The president of the Hungarian Republic, referring to the bitter experiences of our country, drew the attention of his interlocutors to the dangers of reviving antisemitism and extreme nationalism.

Finally the president of the Hungarian Republic talked about the importance of the opposition forces in the Ukraine being able to find a common language with the reforming forces within the party, because this joining of forces could make the struggle for democracy more sustained.

Yazov Greets Hungarian Defense Minister

PM0110124190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Sep 90 First Edition p 1

[Message from USSR Defense Minister Yazov "To Mr. Lajos Fur, Minister of Defense of the Hungarian Republic"]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. Minister!

Accept my congratulations on the Hungarian Republic's Armed Forces Day.

I am sure that relations between our countries' armies will develop in the interests of strengthening all-European security, for the benefit of the Soviet and Hungarian peoples.

I take this opportunity to wish you and the entire Hungarian Army personnel successes in strengthening the country's defense capability.

(Signed) Marshal of the Soviet Union D. Yazov, USSR defense minister

Soviet-Hungarian Computer Firm Success Reported

PM0210114590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Report by Ye. Mananbayev; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The euphoria over the creation of joint enterprises has now subsided. For instance, the Ministry of Finance has announced that there are 1,420 of them. Admittedly the newspapers give varying figures. But roughly half are operational, so to speak. Another one has appeared—a Soviet-Hungarian enterprise in Pavlodar.

[Mananbayev] This enterprise—the first joint enterprise in Kazakhstan's major industrial oblast—arose just three months ago. The enterprise was organized by the local tractor plant and the Vesna radio works, which is still under construction, along with the Hungarian firm "Muszertechnika." There is naturally tremendous demand for the Pavlodar computers, but the joint enterprise was also intended to help fulfill the republic program to computerize many sectors of the economy. For that reason "Probnoinfo"—that is the name of the enterprise—wants to ensure that none of its wares are left unused. Full technical servicing is provided to ensure this, and provision has been made for an extensive backup program. This may come as a surprise, but just six people assemble output worth 50-60 million rubles [R] a month. The market with its problems and contradictions has long been a reality for "Probnoinfo." This non-state joint enterprise does not come under the jurisdiction of any structure. The collective's financial position depends on what and how many components are purchased from Western partners and how much manufactured output is sold on the market. But the enterprise has virtually only a handful of competitors in the republic. Hence its sizable profits of millions of rubles. The demand for the computers outstrips the supply. At least 200,000-250,000 of these computers are required in the northern oblasts of Kazakhstan alone. So it is time to expand production and open up the market in a bolder fashion. In the future new joint enterprises must be set up in the oblast, mainly to process agricultural produce and also to realize the tremendous export scope and industrial potential of many of Pavlodar's enterprises.

Moscow Views Polish Presidential Election Issues

PM0310133190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by own correspondent L. Toporkov: "Who Should Be President?—At the Polish Parliamentary Sitting"]

[Text] Warsaw—The latest sitting of the Polish Sejm was dedicated to discussing the question of sharply reducing the term of office of the republic's president and the duration of the parliament, and also—as a natural consequence of this—the election of a new head of state, Sejm, and Senate.

Without appointing an exact date, it was decided to hold the presidential elections at the end of November or beginning of December this year and the parliamentary elections some time in spring 1991.

Why this sudden need to take such major, cardinal steps at a time when every day is precious and when breaking the normal flow of state life is fraught with ruinous consequences for the reforms being conducted by the present government? Professor B. Geremek, chairman of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club, tried to answer these questions during the Sejm debate. It is not because the present state authorities are working badly, he said. It is simply that over the past year Poland has become a very different country from what it was before. At the same time, he made it clear in his speech that there are forces firmly established in parliament which are only preventing the authorities from implementing their chosen policy in an ideal environment, free of impediment.

The old, banal accusation was repeated: Left-wing forces and the former nomenklatura, which have only slightly changed their colors, are not helping the process of democratization and economic reform. Are the professor's words not a rejection of the political pluralism which Solidarity supporters were fighting for not so long ago? It is not surprising that a sharp dispute flared up in the Sejm between the chairmen of the two clubs: B.

Geremek (Citizens' Parliamentary Club) and W. Cimoszewicz (Club of the Democratic Left).

In his spirited speech in which he analyzed parliament's activity, W. Cimoszewicz paid tribute to its successes in the implementation of the reform program but, at the same time, criticized it for a number of omissions and mistakes. While continuing to support the government, he said, our club also sees the need to amend its activity. It is not left-wing forces, the deputy stressed, that are impeding the creation of the right conditions for T. Mazowiecki's cabinet to function properly, but all the petty intrigues and discord in the ruling camp itself. A year of peaceful, consistent work is too long for our politicians, W. Cimoszewicz said. The idea that hurried elections can somehow soothe the public mood, which is oppressed by the difficulties of everyday life, is either a mistake or a deception, the deputy said. This move shows how much the political elite is out of touch with the real problems of ordinary people and how it is too wrapped up in its own internal rivalries and the struggle for office.

While recognizing the objective need for the future elections, the chairman of the Club of the Democratic Left called for harmony and restraint, because the political campaign now underway is beginning to take on forms and dimensions dangerous to the state's welfare—there are an increasing number of examples of hatred and calls for crude reprisals against those portrayed as enemies. Our grandfathers spent 70 years enthusiastically building a democracy, W. Cimoszewicz said, but totalitarian governments were the end result. Are we going to see our history repeat itself, with squabbling, swollen pride, and stupidity gaining the upper hand?

W. Cimoszewicz's speech has prompted a stormy reaction in the Sejm and the country as a whole. Some have fervently welcomed it, while others have torn it to shreds. But present-day Polish reality is now such that warnings like these cannot go unheeded. The debate in the Sejm (some 60 deputies addressed the sitting) was a kind of first stage in the election campaign, which, as is to be expected, is not without bias. During the discussion of the possible voting procedure and amendments to the constitution and the arguments about the nature of the future president and his role and powers, proposals were made with a specific person in mind; the man was measured for the coat rather than the other way around, as they say. Some speakers painted the portrait of the new president in such transparent colors that everyone could not help thinking: They are talking about Walesa. Objections were immediately raised: The president's functions and range of duties must not be formulated with a view to a specific person but on the basis of his special role, independent of the time and the political situation.

L. Walesa himself, whose candidacy is supported by a number of right-wing political groups, is already conducting his election campaign, without waiting for it to be formally announced. Speaking at a press conference in Gdansk, he avoided answering a question about his own program but talked eagerly about the presidential model and philosophy with which he empathizes. It is not wine, women, and song, he said, but an uncommon manner of working—which he described as the "flying Dutchman" style. He would travel about the country and intervene in matters wherever the need arose. "There will be a lot of Walesa everywhere," he added. In answer to the question: "Will Walesa bring a change of scene to Warsaw when he becomes president?"—he said: "I most certainly will." Asked in an interview with Tele-Express what he would do if he lost the election, L. Walesa replied: "I do not believe that anyone can beat me."

The next Sejm sitting will adopt a new provision on the election of the president, Sejm, and Senate and decide the dates of the elections, which, incidentally, are going to cost a lot of money. At least, it is said that the presidential election alone will cost at least 250 billion zlotys. And the parliamentary elections? The new elections will lead to expenditure not previously envisaged by the budget.

West Europe

FRG Chancellor, Officials on German Unity

Kohl Sends Gorbachev Message

PM0410082590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Oct 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Only Peace Will Emanate from German Soil: From FRG Chancellor Kohl's Message to USSR President Gorbachev"]

[Text] Exercising their right to free self-determination in agreement with their neighbors and on the basis of the Treaty of Final Settlement Regarding Germany, Germans have today become united in a single state, the Federal Republic of Germany, which enjoys full sovereignty in internal and foreign affairs.

With the help of its reacquired national unity our country wishes to serve the cause of worldwide peace and the unification of Europe: That is our task under the Basic Law, our tried-and-tested constitution, which operates in the united Germany.

In future only peace will emanate from German soil. We realize that the inviolability of borders and respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all states in Europe are fundamental prerequisites for peace. We have therefore confirmed the definitive nature of united Germany's borders.

And we will not in the future make any territorial claims whatsoever on anyone.

The European Community will be ready to cooperate closely with all the other states of Europe. We want to make our own contribution, particularly to the development of closer relations between the European Community and the countries of central, East, and southeast Europe which have won their freedom and have embarked upon the path of political, economic, and social reforms.

The community of values of free Western democratic states and the North Atlantic defensive alliance have preserved peace and freedom on our continent through difficult decades. United Germany's place remains therefore in that alliance.

At the same time we want to work along with our allies to further develop this tried-and-tested alliance in line with the progress achieved in relations between the West and the East and the changing demands of the time, we want to preserve it as the basic buttress of a new all-embracing security structure in Europe.

We advocate that members of both alliances adopt a declaration on principles in which they confirm their binding renunciation of the use of force and lay the basis for a new partnership in creating a lasting and just European peace structure.

By our readiness to reduce united Germany's Armed Forces to 370,000 men we are contributing simultanously to the success of the talks on conventional armed forces reduction in Europe. We proceed from the premise that at subsequent talks other partners will make their contribution to strengthening security and stability in Europe, including measures to limit troop strengths.

But on a global scale we will also advocate the achievement of disarmament agreements, which will help enhance stability and security. The principle whereby the number of armed forces is geared exclusively to defense sufficiency must find world recognition.

An agreement on cutting U.S. and Soviet strategic nuclear weapons, talks on cutting American and Soviet short-range nuclear missiles, and, not least, a general ban on chemical weapons have not in any way become less urgent.

At the start of the last decade of our century we can see new opportunities for the kind of world which would tackle its problems by balancing interests and showing mutual understanding, recognizing the binding nature of the principles of international law.

Relieved of the burden of division, we Germans are ready with renewed vigor to create a joint peaceful future with all countries and peoples sharing those objectives in an atmosphere of trusting cooperation.

Kohl Interviewed

PM0310140190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Oct 90 Second Edition p 5

[Interview with FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl by PRAVDA Deputy Chief Editor A. Karpychev and PRAVDA correspondent Ye. Grigoryev under the rubric "Our Interviews" : "Helmut Kohl: 'To Be Imbued with Certainty and Confidence'"; place and date not given; first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] A historic event took place at 0000 today, 3 October 1990—the two German states united. Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl has become the first head of government of the united Germany. PRAVDA asked him to answer a number of questions. On the eve of the event the chancellor received A. Karpychev, the newspaper's deputy chief editor, and Ye. Grigoryev, its own correspondent in Bonn, to hand them the text of the interview for PRAVDA which is published below.

[PRAVDA] The state unification of Germany has happened. Mr. Federal Chancellor, how would you assess the significance of this event for the German people, for Europe, for the world?

[Kohl] For us Germans, 3 October 1990 is the realization of a dream, when, after a split lasting 45 years, in agreement with all our neighbors in East and West, we regain our unity. At the same time, in the final decade of a century which has brought the peoples of Europe so much suffering and sorrow, we are being presented with a unique historic opportunity: by displaying a responsible political approach, to make a contribution to creating lasting peace on our continent, to heal old wounds, and to offer the rising generation the concrete prospect of living under conditions of peace and freedom, with every right to personal happiness.

If we Germans take advantage of this historic opportunity—and we resolutely intend to do so—our fatherland's unification will be a boon to all the peoples of Europe and will only benefit them by ensuring greater security and stability for our continent.

The world community as a whole is acquiring in a united Germany a partner capable of assuming enhanced responsibility for the fate of peace and for the resolution of the large-scale problems now facing mankind.

[PRAVDA] Which factors, in your view, predetermined the success of the unification process? Which stages do you consider most important on this path? Could you have imagined such a rapid unification of the Germans, in agreement with everyone, if it had not been for the policy of perestroyka and glasnost in the Soviet Union?

[Kohl] Without President Gorbachev's policy of reforms and without the new thinking in Soviet foreign policy I could hardly have imagined the unification of the Germans at such a pace and in such harmony as it is happening.

The happy completion of our path toward German unity was predetermined by two factors:

—on the one hand, the courage and vigor of the people in the former GDR who came out, together with many other peoples of central and southeast Europe, for their rights, for self-determination, for our country's unity;

—on the other hand, the FRG's policy of more than 40 years' standing, which filled our partners in the West and in the East with confidence regarding our country's peaceful intentions and, at the same time, laid the foundations for mutually advantageous cooperation. Not least, the confidential personal relations which I succeeded in establishing with the leaders of the West and the East, and with Mikhail Gorbachev above all, played their role.

All this taken together convinced our partners that the unity of the Germans is a pressing command of the times and not only does not pose a threat to our neighbors but, on the contrary, signifies a gain for all Europeans.

The most important stages on the path to unity were in Germany itself—the fall of the Berlin Wall 9 November last year, the first free elections in the former GDR 18 March this year, the treaties on economic, currency, and social union and on unification itself, and also the decision of the People's Chamber of the former GDR of 23 August 1990 to incorporate the GDR in the FRG 3 October.

Of the events in the international arena, the key role was played by the opening of Hungary's western border in the summer of 1989, my meeting with President Gorbachev in February this year, which was followed directly by the conferences in Ottawa and the start of the talks in accordance with the "two-plus-four" formula, the July top-level NATO session which extended the hand of friendship and new partnership to the Warsaw Pact states; and, to crown everything, my July meetings with President Gorbachev in Moscow and Arkhyz, where we, to use the expression of Mikhail Sergeyevich himself, cracked a couple of tough nuts, opening up the way to a German-Soviet future imbued with relations of good-neighborliness, partnership, and close cooperation.

[PRAVDA] What, in this process, demanded the maximum attention and effort? Which of the decisions here was the hardest psychologically for you?

[Kohl] The maximum attention and greatest activeness were undoubtedly demanded by the task whose essence was to ensure that everything was done on all sides, but chiefly, of course, on the part of us Germans, to preserve the peaceful nature of the peaceful revolution of the people in East Berlin, Leipzig, and Dresden. At the same time it was necessary to fill their hearts with justified hope in the coming realization of their dream of free self-determination and unity. If that had failed, hundreds of thousands of people would have begun moving to the FRG, and the chances of the former GDR's rapid political, economic, and social upsurge would have become something for the remote future.

Therefore I tried with tremendous seriousness and special persistence to get all our partners in Europe to understand the problems of our compatriots. At the same time I addressed people directly, trying to make them feel that their voice had been heard and that their problems would be solved.

Particularly at the first stage of the peaceful revolution I had to do this frequently, overcoming the resistance of what was then, unfortunately, a shortsighted GDR leadership. At the same time I had to endeavor, together with the GDR Government, to systematically advance the cause of unity. A psychologically difficult task. Fortunately, the 18 March elections in the GDR resolved that problem.

[PRAVDA] Could you name the moment when it became clear to you that unification would happen in 1990 and you said to yourself: "Well that's that, the deed is done"? Which emotions gripped you at that moment?

[Kohl] It is easier for me to name the feelings that I do not have: neither self-importance, nor conceit, nor nationalist zeal. What I feel may be defined as a combination of humility and circumspection on the one hand and happiness on the other.

Happiness—because my cherished political goal, the unity of Germany, has been achieved.

Humility—as a Christian and a historian I am perfectly aware of how vulnerable and imperfect all human aspirations are. It is not for nothing that a German proverb states: "Happiness, like glass, is easily broken."

Circumspection—because I have learned in my 40-year political life that, however secure a success might be, you must not weaken for one minute or forget about the need for its all-around consolidation, particularly for the future.

With regard to the second part of your question: To speak of the key moment for me in all respects, I would name the mass rally in support of German unity on an unforgettable evening in Dresden last December. There I palpably felt that the tens of thousands of people gathered in front of the ruins of the Frauenkirche church believed in me and pinned their hopes on the policy I was implementing. There I felt that all were in our hands. From that moment I began striving with redoubled energy and determination to achieve German unity as early as 1990.

[PRAVDA] How do you see the united Germany and its role in the new Europe and in the world community? What do you perceive as its chief responsibility before the world and history?

[Kohl] I think that the role which our country and people have to play in Europe and the world is conditioned by our geography, our history, and our weight.

As a people living at the center of Europe, as a country through which the traditional routes linking the East with the West and the North with the South pass, we are obliged to a special degree to implement a policy of the center, of measured steps and right proportions—which invariably means keeping within our field of political vision the wishes, concerns, and interests of our neighbors. We are called upon to implement a policy which will serve as a bridge, as a go-between linking people, opening up the way to trade and economic cooperation, and promoting the exchange of ideas and cultural and scientific exchanges.

We have learned from our history that we are entrusted with special responsibility for peace, security, and stability at the center of Europe. The best means of realizing this responsibility in practice is to show ourselves unequivocally as reliable friends and true allies and partners ready for very close cooperation. Precisely this is why we have sought to avoid everything that could burden German unity with new uncertainties and instabilities. On the contrary, the FRG is remaining within the system of strong ties which it has now been supporting for almost 40 years—I mean, in particular, the North Atlantic alliance and the EC—and is establishing strong new partnership relations, particularly with the Soviet Union.

Finally, we are perfectly clearly aware that the increasing weight of the united Germany obliges us to take a still more responsible position in the family of peoples. Of course, we will continue to show solidarity—still more actively, moreover—with countries suffering from poverty, diseases, underdevelopment, overpopulation, and excessive debts. Precisely the recent months have graphically shown the need for assistance from the united Germany, including within the UN framework, in questions of maintaining world peace and international security. And we will not disappoint the world community in this either.

[PRAVDA] The German question has always been a very sensitive one for our people. How do you, Mr. Federal Chancellor, see the future of relations between the Soviet Union and the united Germany, between our peoples? What significance in this connection do you attach to the new "grand treaty" between the USSR and the FRG, which you are expected to sign?

[Kohl] I have always emphasized and I repeat once again: Remembering precisely the bitter history of the first half of our century, I understand perfectly those people in many countries, particularly of the older generation, who are skeptical about the Germans' unification. Our task of convincing these very people by word and deed that German unity will benefit themselves too is all the more important. And I adhere to precisely this line in relations with the peoples of the Soviet Union. With due regard for the USSR's so significant contribution to the cause of surmounting the split in Germany and conscious of the entirety of our responsibility before history, at this historic moment it is necessary to bring German-Soviet relations up to a qualitatively new level and direct them to the future.

The grand treaty which you mentioned, on which the talks with your country have already been completed, assumes key significance here. Both as the starting point for an epoch of new partnership relations in all spheres and—which is probably still more important for people in both countries—as the final line under a long-suffering chapter of history, as an appeal for reconciliation and to build together a better future for ourselves and our children.

I am glad that, together with President Gorbachev, I will soon be able to sign this treaty.

[PRAVDA] The "two-plus-four" talks ended successfully, although they were complex. What could be emphasized in their experience for the cause of disarmament, the creation of the common European home, and the formation of security and cooperation structures in Europe?

[Kohl] The talks showed that if partners sit around a table, motivated by the will to achieve agreement, and act in the spirit of the historic responsibility entrusted to them, they can come to an understanding with each other on the most complex problems—I mean complex from the viewpoint of history, politics, and security and, not least, on a purely psychological plane. This is a principled conclusion, and not only for the Europe of tomorrow, in building which we, of course, make use of it, but also for strengthening peace on a global scale. Precisely the recent weeks have shown that the world community can cope with the new challenges and deal a decisive rebuff to violations of international law and to threats to peace only if there is full agreement among responsible powers, in this case above all among the permanent members of the Security Council.

[PRAVDA] In congratulating you, Mr. Federal Chancellor, as the first head of government of the united Germany, we ask you in conclusion to say a few words to Soviet people—readers of PRAVDA.

[Kohl] Thank you for the good wishes. Allow me to convey cordial greetings to all readers of PRAVDA, to all citizens of the Soviet Union, and, in particular, to those who have sent me letters recently.

I know that the day of the restoration of German unity will stir memories of the past in many of you and elicit dual feelings.

Nevertheless, I beg you to be imbued with certainty and confidence on this day. Give us a chance to resume together with you the good traditions of our long-standing history, of the age-old friendly ties, of close economic cooperation and fruitful exchange in the spheres of culture and science. You will thereby open up wide horizons for German-Soviet relations—something we all strive for.

We Germans know that our path to unity coincides with one of the most complex stages in the implementation of reforms in your country. I want to assure you that precisely at this moment we intend to give you assistance. The chances of the united Germany on this plane are immeasurably more considerable.

Henceforth our peoples together with all the other peoples of Europe can embark on the long path of peace, cooperation, and good-neighborliness. [Kohl ends]

After handing us the text of the interview and signing it, Helmut Kohl invited us to sit at the "conference table." Hans Klein, federal minister and leader of the press and information department; an interpreter, a stenographer, a photographer, and we PRAVDA correspondents—in short, an increase in the number of people. The chancellor was in a good mood, "unfettered."

[PRAVDA] And so, unification has happened. Is this the end or the beginning of great work?

[Kohl] I think it is both. The end is very important, but still the beginning is more important. When Mikhail Gorbachev was here in June last year, we were already discussing future relations. Then we continued discussing this topic intensively in Moscow and the Caucasus. In one respect we have something in common: We are roughly the same age and lived through the war in childhood. This means that we not only heard stories or read about the disasters of war but also knew it ourselves.

We were united in our desire to open a new chapter. While not forgetting what happened. Whoever does not know history does not understand the present and cannot build the future. I remember how in Stavropol Kray Gorbachev and I suddenly found ourselves before a group of veterans. They were probably about 70 years old and more, with decorations. Then one of them said: "What you are doing is good. Do it for our grandchildren." Gorbachev was standing next to me. We both had the same reply: "This is what we want."

[PRAVDA] But, to turn to Germany, where is the end here, and where the beginning? What do you see as the problems? How will people "grow together"?

[Kohl] We have lived apart for 40 years. The economic systems, for example, were totally different. Transitional problems arise from this. They will take four or five years. But this is the same Germany, the same mother tongue, the same history, the same traditions. And this will help in our joint life. There will be problems, and we will have to make sacrifices, but we will cope.

[PRAVDA] We know that you like to vacation in the Alps. Will you conceive a desire to spend a vacation in the North Caucasus one day?

[Kohl] The Caucasus made a fantastic impression on me. Beautiful places—mountains, forests. I hope to go there again at some time in my life. But not just for a few hours, not for talks. And without a "band" of journalists, but with a few normal people. You cannot count journalists in this category, nor politicians, incidentally. Both constitute a special subspecies. What I liked most of all there, in the Caucasus, was Nature, still intact, the meadows still untouched by artificial fertilizers, and those grasses. In general, a beautiful place. I told Gorbachev that I would like to come again.

[PRAVDA] You mentioned a transitional period. In particular, Soviet troops will remain on German territory for a while. What will be the attitude toward our soldiers and officers?

[Kohl] Because there is a precise date for the withdrawal of Soviet troops—before the end of 1994—it is possible to hope that the attitude will be placid. It will probably be common talk among the soldiers that we Germans will help in the construction of housing for servicemen in the Soviet Union. This is very important psychologically for them because they want to have apartments, and apartments are something peaceful, associated with the family. I have already thought that I will probably visit one of the Soviet soldiers' barracks next year. But they should be not only high-ranking officers but also ordinary simple soldiers, i.e. an ordinary military unit, where I would like to discuss matters.

[PRAVDA] May we mention this in the newspaper?

[Kohl] Yes, yes, that is why I said it. But, I repeat, it should not be a Potemkin village, when they put on what is called a "show" today.

[PRAVDA] Consequently, you favor friendly conditions?

[Kohl] Yes. For soldiers are young people. I myself have two sons. They are both lieutenants in the reserve. So these are not just theoretical musings for me.

[PRAVDA] We hope that both your sons and ours will remain forever in the reserve.

[Kohl] I do not doubt that.

[PRAVDA] Now, Mr. Federal Chancellor, we beg you to reveal a state secret: Are you staying in Bonn or will you move to Berlin? You are having a big argument over this.

[Kohl] This is not a state secret. And it is not up to me to decide. A debate is continuing now, but it does not require any haste. The new Bundestag will adopt the decision some time after the elections. I will do everything to ensure that this decision is made in a calm atmosphere and not at once. For this costs a lot of money and is not number one on the list of priorities. We have other problems now. There is a time for everything. This is not a topic of concern to me.

[PRAVDA] Now, really, the final question. Perestroyka has entered a decisive stage. It is encountering considerable difficulties. What is your opinion of this?

[Kohl] It is perfectly definite. I hope that perestroyka will succeed. You now have an extensive package of reforms. All this will not get by without difficulties. I should not give advice, but when I am asked what I think about this, I reply: Implement these reforms. It is essential to do so. If you do, you will achieve success. And this is not only in the interests of the Soviet Union but also in the interests of all of Europe. [Kohl ends]

...The conversation came to an end. The chancellor's time is severely limited. We thanked the federal chancellor for the interview with PRAVDA.

FRG Envoy Hosts Reception

LD0310124890 Moscow TASS in English 1228 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow October 3 TASS—Klaus Blech, West German ambassador to the Soviet Union, today gave a reception on the occasion of German Unity Day.

The reception was attended by Soviet parliament chairman Anatoliy Lukyanov, Presidential Council member Aleksandr Yakovlev, Deputy Prime Minister Stepan Sitaryan, by USSR and Russian Federation people's deputies and other officials.

German Unity Welcomed

LD0310104490 Moscow TASS in English 0923 GMT 3 Oct 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondents Pavel Ostrov and Yuriy Kozmin]

[Text] Moscow October 3 TASS—Russian Vice-President Ruslan Khasbulatov today welcomed German reunification as an "outstanding event".

In his opening remarks at the republican parliament's session, he said: "We congratulate the German people on this historic event and express confidence that friendly economic and cultural relations between our nations will only grow stronger."

The Russian Supreme Soviet today is to discuss and adopt a number of important documents, including decisions on urgent measures to improve public transportation services, relationships between governing councils and their executive branches during economic reform, and procedures and time frames for electing regional judges.

The parliament is expected to make up the second reading of a bill on referendums in the second half of the day.

TASS Comments On 'New Departure' for Germany

LD0310190390 Moscow TASS in English 1844 GMT 3 Oct 90

["TASS comment" by TASS political news analyst Aleksandr Antsiferov: "German Unification"]

[Text] Moscow October 3 TASS—Europeans awoke today on a different continent to the one on which they went to bed last night. It is now one country less but one great power more.

The German Democratic Republic has died only to give birth to a new single Germany. "New" because this is not a Germany of Bismarck or Weimar, which, in one way or another, owed their emergence to wars. For the first time in the recent history of Europe, the unification of states was not accompanied by suffering and bloodshed, and festivities on German soil were not marred by either the groaning of the vanquished or demonstrations of hostility and yearning for revenge.

On the contrary, Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who delivered an address to the people of Germany, had all grounds to express gratitude to the victor powers in the Second World War for their support in bringing about German unity, without which it would have been impossible. It is noteworthy that this support was given despite the fact that far from all doubts and anxieties over the role of a united Germany in Europe and the world had been dispelled.

In this connection one can note a statement by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher who was quoted by the DAILY MAIL newspaper as saying that "Germany will be very dominant in Europe, so it will be up to the rest of us not to allow it to dominate."

Neither did former West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt sound reassuring when he told THE TIMES newspaper that in future there were more likely to be conflicts between the interests of Germany and medium-size European countries, rather than between Germany and large powers.

Whatever reasons prompted the two prominent politicians to make these conclusions, it is clear that the point at issue is a new confrontation in Europe, either between Germany and other great powers, which Thatcher is afraid of, or between Germany and "medium" European countries, which is admitted by Schmidt. It is also obvious that neither would serve the cause of peace, stability and good-neighbourliness.

These developments can be prevented only on one condition, namely, if the interests of Germany coincide with those of other European states, irrespective of their political and economic worth, if all European countries, having put old quarrels and consequences of the ideological split of Europe behind them, could manage to pool their efforts in building a common European home.

Movement in this direction has already begun and is gaining momentum. A change in the political climate has resulted in a considerable decline in the military power concentrated in Europe. The politicisation of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO puts on the agenda the creation of common European security structures, outside blocs. A new stage of interaction and cooperation with the CSCE framework adds urgency to the institutionalisation of this process.

One can only welcome Kohl's statement, now referred to as "the chancellor of all Germans", that the united Germany will no longer be a source of anxiety, but rather a factor of stability in Central Europe, along with the oft-repeated assurances by Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher that Germans planned to use their growing economic and political clout of their state for the good.

Today marks a new departure for Germany. These words will be checked against deeds. Then it will become clear if it marked a new departure for Europe as well.

FRG-USSR Troop Pullout Accord Explained

PM0310133990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Oct 90 First Edition p 3

[Article by TASS correspondent L. Volnukhin: "They Will Help Prepare the Troop Withdrawal"]

[Text] Bonn, 2 Oct—The USSR and FRG Government agreement on certain transitional measures related to the Soviet troops' interim presence on GDR territory in connection with its incorporation within the FRG was initialed at the FRG Finance Ministry.

Under the agreement a special fund has been set up to which the FRG Government will contribute to cover the expenditure entailed in the upkeep and withdrawal of the Soviet troops. The document also makes provision for the German side to assist the Soviet Union in implementing the civil housing construction program in the European part of the USSR for the Soviet troops which are to be withdrawn. Various options will be implemented for the "turnkey" construction of apartment blocks, the creation and modernization of housing construction enterprises, and supplies of construction vehicles and machinery.

The Federal Republic will support the USSR in the measures to train and retrain the Soviet servicemen who are to be brought back to the USSR from Germany and discharged into the reserve with a view to including them in labor activity.

Miners' Donation to British Union Viewed

90UF0580A Moscow TRUD in Russian 25 Sep 90 p 3

[TASS report on interview with Doctor of Technical Sciences M. Srebnyy, chief research worker in the scientific center of the AUCCTU; place and date not given: "Once Again About Help for the British Miners"]

[Text] Recently, the public is discussing the help given by Soviet miners to striking British miners during 1984-1985 and the unabating scandal in this connection in the British mass media. The diverse, incomplete, and at times not always objective information gives rise to various false rumors.

A TASS correspondent asked Doctor of Technical Sciences M. Srebnyy, the chief research worker in the scientific center of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] to clear up these questions. During those years, he headed the Coal Industry Workers Union in our country:

[Srebnyy] As soon as the strike of English miners started in 1984, a widespread solidarity campaign got under way in the USSR. Support rallies took place at enterprises of the coal industry of the Donets coal field, the Kuznetsk coal field, the Moscow area coal field, the Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, the Far East, Kazakhstan, Central Asia, Estonia, and other regions. Practically all of the collectives of Soviet miners allotted part of their earnings to a strike assistance fund for the English miners. Overall, this sum totaled R2.24 million. All of the money went into the Soviet peace fund.

Of the sum that went into the Soviet peace fund, the AUCCTU exchanged one million foreign currency rubles ($1.4 million) at the expense of the resources of the Central Council for Tourism and Excursions and sent them to the National Union of Mine Workers of Great Britain.

A. Scargill, chairman of the National Union of Mine Workers and the International Organization of Miners, and A. Simon, general secretary of the International Organization of Miners, confirmed the receipt in 1985 of $1.4 million from the Soviet miners union. However, they now assert that this sum, allegedly on direct instructions of the Central Committee of the Coal Industry Workers Union, was readdressed for the creation of the Fund for the International Solidarity of Miners. Moreover, fabrications are being spread that all of the outlays were carried out at the command of Moscow.

These unsubstantiated assertions do not correspond to the truth. I once again declare officially that we did not know anything about the creation of the fund, and, therefore, we could not know on what these moneys were expended. Moreover, the question of the fund was never discussed in the statute measures of the International Organization of Miners, and we did not sign any kind of documents that would agree to it. It turns out that the fund was established in secret from the six million members of the International Organization of Miners who were united in 43 national organizations, and that two persons have been in charge of it over the course of five years now without any control.

I am compelled to declare a firm protest in connection with efforts to cast aspersions on the good name of the Soviet miners union and to demand an investigation into all circumstances surrounding the creation of the mythical fund and punishment for those guilty of violating the statute of the International Organization of Miners.

Supreme Soviet

USSR Supreme Soviet 3 Oct Session Outlined

LD0310211390

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1840 GMT on 3 October begins carrying the scheduled "At the USSR Supreme Soviet Session" program, comprising recorded highlights of the 3 October session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin in Moscow.

The program opens with the studio announcer reporting that the draft decision on suspending the treaty of friendship was adopted.

At 1841 GMT, the draft law on public organizations is discussed. Brief recorded excerpts are carried of various deputies speaking from the floor on parties and the Armed Forces; whether or not servicemen should suspend their membership in the party.

At 1846 GMT, an unidentified deputy says that many KGB officers asked her to stand for the draft freeing them from the party.

At 1847 GMT, a military deputy says many servicemen support depoliticizing the Army.

At 1848 GMT, an unidentified deputy highlights the possible social disruption if people put their allegence to various parties above professional duties.

At 1849 GMT, a military deputy insists on retaining party cells in the Army.

At 1851 GMT, an unidentified deputy says Communists have proven their valor in the Army, something democrats have not yet done. Lukyanov asks him to keep to the point.

At 1853 GMT, an unidentified deputy says that political demonopolization is of paramount importance.

At 1854 GMT, Deputy Martirosyan insists on suspending membership in the party during service in the Army, which should be outside politics.

At 1859 GMT, Mironenko, ex-Komsomol chief, recalls relevant international pacts, saying that a compromise can be found.

At 1902 GMT, Deputy Stankevich suggests his formula of compromise: Primary party organizations should be removed from the Army and from law-enforcement bodies; all party activity should be restricted to hours outside professional duties.

At 1905 GMT, General Ovchinnikov makes his proposal.

At 1907 GMT, Roy Medvedev expresses support for the draft clause put forward by the committee.

At 1910 GMT, Akhromeyev speaks from the floor. The CPSU has permeated the Army throughout and this structure must not be eliminated within a short time. This will throw the Army into a state of crisis.

At 1912 GMT, another military deputy supports Mironenko's proposal.

At 1913 GMT, an officer says the army should be subordinated to law and not to any party.

At 1917 GMT, a deputy says the Armed Forces and law-enforcement bodies should be examined separately.

At 1918 GMT, another military deputy, who is a cosmonaut as well, defends the right of the military to stay in the party.

At 1922 GMT, a general recalls that as of 1 January a military-political body is to be set up subordinated to the president and the Supreme Soviet.

At 1923 GMT, the studio announcer says that the articles were not adopted at the session.

The announcer goes on to say that at the evening session a draft law on trade unions was examined. Shcherbakov, deputy chairman of All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, made a report on the tasks of trade unions in new conditions.

At 1931 GMT, Gritsenko, chairman of Commission for Labor and Social Policy, made a report evaluating the draft presented by Shcherbakov.

At 1936 GMT, Lukyanov puts the draft to the vote. It is adopted: 287 for, 15 against, 12 abstentions.

At 1937 GMT, the studio announcer says that on 4 October the session will work in committees and commissions.

The relay ends at 1939 GMT.

Deputies Debate Role of Party in Armed Forces

LD0310145990 Moscow TASS in English 1440 GMT 3 Oct 90

[By TASS Parliamentary Correspondents Lev Aksenov, Boris Zverev and Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] The Soviet parliament today continued discussing the bill "on mass organisations". The article regulating party activities in the Army and law enforcement agencies, discussed for the first time today, prompted the sharpest debates. At the previous session, when the bill was given its first reading, this article was not included.

Three points of view were heard: to preserve the proposed wording on suspending "political activity" during a stay in the Army and law enforcement agencies, to tackle the issue in future bills and to ban the creation and activity of party organisations in the Army and law and order organisations.

"Can we permit the preservation of a one party monopoly?" one deputy asked rhetorically. Some deputies, including Victor Podziruk and Vilen Martirosyan, argued that the Army was a state body and must be subordinate, along with the KGB and the Interior Ministry, to legitimate authorities rather than to a party. The advocates of this view explained their position by a desire to prevent the Army and law enforcement agencies from becoming a scene of inter-party struggle.

Their opponents countered that far from de-politicising the Army their proposal was nothing short of "re-politicisation". In this case, Colonel Nikolay Petrushenko believes, one can end up with "a left-wing army of strategic purpose". Aleksandr Golyakov expressed the view of this group in a more direct way.

"Those proposing to drive party organisations out of the Army, to deny Communists an opportunity of political activity hardly do it out of concern for the Armed Forces," he said. "The main aim is to remove the CPSU (the Communist Party of the Soviet Union) from the Armed Forces and law enforcement bodies."

Deputies remained at loggerheads during the rest of the debate. Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev even went as far as accusing Ivan Laptev, who presided over proceedings during his speech, of "bias". Military deputies with general's rank—Pyotr Klimuk, Nikolay Moiseyev and Mikhail Surkov—unequivocally favoured the retaining of the status quo. In contrast, Nikolay Tutov, a representative of the Social Democratic Faction, posed the problem in a different way: Since Communist Party organisations remain in the Armed Forces, the latter should also have social democratic organisations.

Neither did a roll-call vote help elucidate the situation. Incidentally, some deputies objected to the roll-call vote which, they claimed, was nothing more than a way to put "pressure on the parliament". As a result, the most "controversial" sections of this article remain unendorsed. At the proposal of parliament Chairman Anatoliy Lukyanov, the Committee on Legislation was instructed to discuss numerous amendments during a break and submit its proposals at the afternoon session.

A delegation of Oman's Consultative Assembly, currently on a visit in the Soviet Union, attended the morning session.

Akhromeyev Speaks on Party Influence in Army

LD0310225890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1910 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Speech by Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Fedorovich Akhromeyev on "the state of the Armed Forces" at the 3 October session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in the Kremlin, in Moscow; from the "At the USSR Supreme Soviet Session" program—recorded]

[Text] I could say a great deal on this issue, but since much has already been said by comrades, I will dwell on the practical aspect of the matter.

Over the 73 years of the existence of our state and its Armed Forces, it has historically come about that the CPSU's party organizations have thoroughly permeated all the work of the Armed Forces, down to the platoon, the section, and even lower. They are now, indeed, an integral structural part. Whether this is good or bad, it is, nevertheless, a fact. This is the state of the Armed Forces today.

And, if now, over some two to three months, we abolish this system in a stroke, it will be similar to the way that we have destroyed the administrative command system for running the economy, and created nothing in its place. It is for you to best judge the nature of the economy today, because I am a military man and you are, after all, specialists in your field. But, the Armed Forces will also be in the same condition. Under no circumstances can this be allowed to occur today. This matter requires time, all the more so since the political bodies also are currently being restructured in accordance with the presidential decree. This means that we will be affecting the health of the Army, and putting it into a state of crisis.

Further on Akhromeyev Remarks

LD0310183190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Report by correspondent G. Sedov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Yesterday the parliamentarians discussed and adopted two chapters of this document [bill on public organizations] after taking into account 14 [as heard] articles.

Today the discussion was heated. Each speaker stressed the importance of the matter under discussion and insisted on his own arguments. Their positions were, at times, wide apart. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Sergey Akhromeyev] If, over two to three months, we have been abolishing the system, that means that we are destroying the administrative-command system for running the economy and are creating nothing. I think that some comrades are perfectly aware of this and, for this reason, are stubbornly trying to achieve this end. I am in favor of dropping paragraph four and retaining paragraph five. I cannot let slip the opportunity to reply to the speeches made by some comrades here.

[Ivan Laptev] Sergey Fedorovich, I....

[Akhromeyev, interrupting] I cannot. You, comrade chairman [referring to Laptev], allowed Stankevich to speak. Make sure that I speak for as long as he did. [pointing in Laptev's direction] And do not interrupt me! [glowers at Laptev] [uproar in hall]

[Laptev] Esteemed Deputy Akhromeyev! As chairman, I have the right, in accordance with the standing orders, to interrupt you if you digress from the topic. Thank you for your contribution.

[Akhromeyev] I declare to you that you have a biased attitude toward the deputies. [end recording]

As a result of the discussion and the vote on individual points in the article entitled "On the Depoliticization of the Armed Forces and the Law Enforcement Agencies," the deputies failed to reach a concensus. The Committee for Legislation will continue its work on new versions of the article.

Deputies Fail To Agree on Organizations Bill

LD0310180490 Moscow TASS in English 1700 GMT 3 Oct 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondents Lev Akseonov, Boris Zverev, and Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow October 3 TASS—Three days of work proved not enough for the Soviet Parliament to endorse the second reading of a bill "On Public Organisations." Once passed into law, it is meant to ensure a real multi-party system and plurality of opinions in the Soviet Union.

The bill describes the right to associate in public organisations as the inalienable right of a man and citizen, proclaimed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and sealed in the Constitution of the USSR and the constitutions of Union and autonomous republics. Freedom to form public associations is guaranteed to Soviet citizens by the state.

Today, deputies discussed clause-by-clause the bill that was adopted on Monday as a whole. Article 16 of the bill, regulating party activity in the Army and in law enforcement agencies sparked the most heated debate.

Three points of view were heard: to preserve the proposed wording on suspending "political activity" during a stay in the Army and law enforcement agencies, to tackle the issue in future bills and to ban the creation and activity of party organisations in the Army and law and order organisations.

Deputies failed to reach a consensus on this item. It was decided to charge a working group with elaborating a new compromise provision on regulating party activity in the Army and law enforcement agencies by the next plenary session of parliament scheduled to be held on Tuesday, October 9.

Without completing work on the bill, deputies passed to the next item in the agenda—the consideration of a bill "on the rights of trade unions."

Deputy chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU) Vladimir Shcherbakov, who represents the trade unions which initiated the adoption of this bill, submitted the document to parliament. After brief but keen debates, it was decided to send the document for further serious study to several parliamentary committees and commissions to prepare it for its first reading at the present session.

Several deputies said the bill did not take into account the forthcoming transition of the Soviet economy to market relations and the appearance of independent trade unions in the country.

Parliament will continue work in committees and commissions on Thursday and Friday. The parliamentary chambers will meet in separate sessions on Monday, October 8.

Maslennikov Interviewed on Media Behavior

LD0310203190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0430 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Interview with Arkadiy Afrikanovich Maslennikov, head of the USSR Supreme Soviet Press Center, by correspondent Olga Vasilenko; place and date of interview not given; in the "Parliament and the Press" program—recorded]

[Text] [Maslennikov] Our press is becoming increasingly professional. To start with there were just outbursts of emotion, people hardly managed to relate what was going on in the Supreme Soviet before they started making their own assessments on it. Gradually, however, we are now becoming more restrained and more objective, and I think that the Supreme Soviet deputies and I, as the press service head, have grounds for talking about specific merits of our parliamentary journalists.

Unfortunately, however, not everything is fully taking shape yet. Some of our colleagues are still continuing to write less about what is going on in the hall itself, as about some sort of perceptions of their own. We often observe quite simply direct distortion of statements; for example, inaccurate quotation, or selective quotation. For instance, if a journalist likes a deputy, then he shows him in a good light; if he does not like him, then the deputy also seems to be quoted, but the most unfortunate bits.

I should point out that such operations are sometimes what I would call improper methods. It happens even with the president and deputies, therefore, very often find that they have some very serious complaints with regard to how they are reported. For example, I have the latest ones here in my hands now. I received several such letters today. A representative from the Azerbaijani delegation, say, who considers that they have been squeezed out for several days on end now; and People's Deputy Stepanov complains that the "Vremya" program on 25 September contained a very unobjective account of the way in which the issue of the elaboration of a new union treaty was discussed in the Supreme Soviet. In fact, it was stated incorrectly that certain drafts of a Union treaty were allegedly discussed—three of them almost—but in actual fact nothing of the kind took place—and that a resolution was adopted on some draft. In actual fact information was heard from Nishanov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, about the consultations that had been taking place over the months of summer and autumn during the July-September period.

In this connection it was decided to take into account all proposals which had been voiced both by people's deputies and by the republics. A proposal of the president of the USSR that a preparatory committee be formed to work out the concept and initial draft of a new union treaty was adopted. So you can see what we are talking about. What are being worked out are only the approaches to this problem, that is to say we are talking about a very democratic process. I consider it essential to talk about this because the question of the Union treaty is an extremely delicate one. It excites everyone.

[Vasilenko] So let us call upon our colleagues to work under the slogan of objectivity and again objectivity.

[Maslennikov] Absolutely right. We have to be more precise over a whole range of these manifestations of present-day life, to engage less in the spreading of unchecked rumors, particularly on such matters like those involving the Army now. You know that there is an absolutely clear-cut anti-Army campaign in part of our mass information media.

[Vasilenko] But you know we also have to preserve objectivity during discussion of the problem of the potato harvest, Arkadiy Afrikanovich.

[Maslennikov] Evidently this is so; potatoes, too, have turned out to be at the focus of the attention of everything, including the Army, today.

Here I have another document in my hands. It is an address to the Supreme Soviet deputies from Major General Bocharov. He is a people's deputy of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic and the commander of a guards Airborne Assault Division of the Frontier Troops of the KGB. He is very alarmed by reports which have appeared in part of the press, and especially in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA of 15 and 26 September, where it is reported that this division was allegedly being sent to Moscow to deal with demonstrations. This is what he writes: The soldiers of the division learned about the march on Moscow that never took place from KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA and those publications we have been talking about.

[Vasilenko] Well of course that is putting it crudely to talk about a march on Moscow, perhaps it should not have been so...

[Maslennikov, interrupting] Yes, yes, of course it should not have been...

[Vasilenko, interrupting] So once again it is a question of objectivity and once again objectivity.

Political & Social

Opposition Program Called 'White Bolshevism'

LD0310112890 Moscow TASS in English 1104 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow October 3 TASS—The Soviet Communist Party Central Committee's DIALOG journal lashed out at the opposition's "Action Programme '90" as a manifesto of "White Bolshevism", alluding to the "White Guards" and the Red Army's Bolsheviks that clashed during the civil war in Russia after the 1917 revolution.

The critique of the programme advocated by the Russian Democratic Forum (RDF), one of the most radical and uncompromising liberal democratic organisations in the country, was carried today by the RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA (Workers' Tribune) daily. It also printed the programme.

The DIALOG editors lambasted the opposition, which is determined, they said, to raze the country's entire governing system to the ground and uses tactics and methods very similar to those employed by the Bolsheviks, including threats of a civil war.

"If not such a war, what else can result from their appeals to destabilise political and economic structures and arbitrarily seize power and property de facto—against the background of mounting violence in various regions, the growth of parliamentary armed groups and increasing disunity?", the comment asked, rhetorically.

"At a time when there is a power crisis in the country, caused by the complex transition of powers from the Communist Party to popularly elected governing councils, the RDF proposes forming parallel 'micro-parliaments', in other words a diarchy," the article continued.

"With the aim of carrying out denationalisation, the RDF suggests arbitrarily transferring property, under its own supervision, from the state directly to producers," it said.

"How can the appeal to create a law-government state, which is made in the programme, be squared with this kind of legal nihilism?", the DIALOG editors asked.

"Why such dramatic decision if the problem today can be resolved by much peaceful means, albeit not as quickly as one would like?', they added.

The comment noted that while paying lip service to popular interests, the programme does not suggest virtually anything that could actually improve people's lives, "save perhaps the call to double all payments and allowances".

Meeting this call, however would mean, the article argued, further destabilising the already shortage-ridden, unsteady economic system.

The main threat from the standpoint of popular interests comes from destabilising political and economic situation which, combined with the crisis of power and political intolerance, could spark off a civil war, the DIALOG editors warned.

CPSU Central Committee Secretariat Meets

LD0310213790 Moscow TASS in English 2115 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow October 3 TASS—Soviet Communist Party policy towards the establishment of relations with new political parties and movements in East European countries, which display interest in this, has been drafted at a meeting of the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee, PRAVDA and TASS report today.

The Secretariat's meeting also examined draftes of several normative party documents which will be submitted for the discussion of communists in the near future.

The 73rd anniversary of the Great October Revolution is drawing closer. The November 7 was celebrated as an outstanding date in the revolutionary calender of the renewed world. [sentence as received]

Calls are heard in some Soviet cities and regions this year to abandon this nationwide tradition. Discussing the present situation, the Secretariat decided to set out its position on this question in a statement and to publish it in the press.

The Secretariat noted that the forms of marking the holiday can be diverse: gala meetings, demonstrations, rallies and other events.

The Secretariat suggests that every republic, city, district and community should decide for themselves how to celebrate, taking into account local traditions and present conditions.

The meeting noted that society's political reform logically helps overcome the monopolism of present social and political institutions. The process of forming new parties, movements and organisations is becoming an inseparable factor of present political life.

However, in violation of legal, moral, and ethic rules, some movements display a desire to limit the CPSU's influence at educational establishments under the pretext of "depoliticising" public education and to deprive young people of their right to express their views and to join some or other organisations and movements.

The main aim of this unseemly campaign is not an open discussion of ideas but an expressed desire to paralise the CPSU's influence among young people, the meeting noted.

Discussions Detailed

LD0310220190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1739 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Report by PRAVDA and TASS correspondent from the 3 October CPSU Central Committee Secretariat session]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Oct (TASS)—The 28th Congress, held at a time of watershed for the country and the Party, and the documents adopted at it, created a good foundation for consolidaton of the party and for allowing the party to move to a qualitatively higher level in a society which is renewing itself. The most difficult and resposible stage—the implementation of the adopted decisions—has begun.

Democratization within the party presupposes the participation of all its members and structures in the shaping of CPSU policy. Thoroughgoing perestroyka of intraparty relations and of party activities also means taking maximum heed of the opinions of all communists and asserting party authority within the CPSU on the basis of comradeship, openness, and criticism, said V.A. Ivashko, deputy general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, opening the secretariat session. In this context, the proposals and critical remarks made by delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress deserve particular attention. They have been thoroughly studied and summarized. Organizational and political measures have been drafted for implementation of the proposals.

The critical remarks have been broken down by topic. Not a single speech by delegates expressing the opinions of the communists who elected them to the congress has been passed over. Many constructive proposals are contained in the sections on issues of party construction, ideological work, socio-economic, agrarian, nationalities, military, and international policy, on problems of strengthening of law and order, legality, and combating crime. CPSU Central Committee secretaries A.S. Dzasokhov, YU. A. Manayenkov, and O.S. Shenin; B.K. Pugo, chairman of the CPSU Central Control Commission; V.A. Gayvoronskiy and I.I. Melnikov, members of the Central Committee Secretariat; and A.Y. Degtyarev, member of the CPSU Central Committee, exchanged views regarding the effectiveness of the proposed mechanism for the realization of the critical remarks and for monitoring their implementation. The question arose as to what to do with the critical remarks touching directly upon economic issues. As is well known, the party has rejected the usurping of the functions of the organs of state and economic administration. However, this does not mean that the concerns of communist managers and their anguish over the state of affairs in specific sectors of production are alien. The Secretariat members are of the opinion that they should pass the critical remarks of the congress delegates on economic issues to the relevant state organs so the organs can take measures.

The 73d aniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution is nearing. Throughout the years, 7 November has been celebrated as an outstanding date in the revolutionary calendar of the renewed world. This year the calls to give up this nationwide tradition started to be heard in some towns and regions of our country. It amount to "cancelling" the October celebrations and attempting to deprive our multinational people of its state-wide holiday which has become an integral part of every Soviet household and every family, said the participants anxiously.

Having discussed the present situation, the Secretariat decided to state their position and to publish it in the press. The statement contains an appeal to communists, non-party members, and representatives of political groups to preserve their loyalty to the ideals of the people's power [narodovlastiye], humanism, democracy, and justice, and to the best of their abilities support the creative and consolidating significance of our main nationwide and state holiday.

What is important is not noisy ostentation and empty eulogizing, but the living soul of the November celebration, its unifying purposefulness, humanism, and spirit of solidarity and internatinalism. The forms in which the celebrations are conducted may be highly varied, such as festive gatherings, demonstrations, rallies, and other events. Let each repubic, town, rayon, and settlement decide for itself in accordance with local conditions and possibilities, taking account the established traditions.

The CPSU Central Committee Secretariat instructed the communist party central committees of the union republics, the republican party committees of autonomous republics, and party kraykoms [kray party committees], obkoms [oblast party committees], gorkoms [city party committee], and raykoms [rayon party committee] to consider and adopt concrete programs for sociopolitical and cultural measures during the 73 anniversary of Great October. The editorial boards of party publications have been charged with ensuring the broad popularization of the revolutionary traditions of the Soviet people, the historical [law-governed] regularity [zakonomernost] of the choice of socialism, the decisions of the 23d party congress, and the transformations that are being carried out on this basis.

Under the conditions of the development process of perestroyka and the confirmation of common human values, the tasks of the national educational system also appear in a new light. Modern society and the democratization of public life lend urgency to the problems of political activity in this spehre.

It was noted that the political reform of society objectively and regularly helps to overcome the monopolism of the sociopolitical institutions that have taken shape. The process of the creation of new parties, movements, and organizations is becoming an inalienable factor in modern political life.

The variety of political organizations should further the enhancement of social stability and the deepening of the political culture of democracy. The positions on these issues were determined by the 28th party congress, which called upon public and political forces to develop dialogue and cooperation and to join in a single union for the ideas of perestroyka.

However, of late the desire of individual movements to restrict the CPSU's influence in educational establishments and deprive young citizens of the right to express their views and join various organizations and movements is being manifested in violation of legal, moral, and ethical standards in the guise of the "depoliticization" of national education. What is involved is almost "reideologization" and "repoliticisation" of higher and secondary schools.

V.A. Karakovskiy, delegate to the 28th CPSU Congress and director of Moscow school No. 825; V.V. Ryabov, G.N. Seleznev, L.I. Shvetsova, G.A. Yagodin, and other members of the CPSU Central Committee, in their speeches spoke with alarm about the fact that forces that are in opposition to the CPSU are openly recruiting young people to various organizations of an antisocialist nature. The thought that it is necessary to get rid of party organizations in the sphere of education, to prohibit political activities of CPSU and komsomol members in educational establishments, to remove party committees from teaching collectives, and to introduce a ban on professions because of people's political views is being inculcated into immature youthful thought on the pretext of depoliticization. In a number of regions, heads of local soviets call upon teachers and lecturers to leave the Communist Party and do not confirm communists in managerial posts.

There is a tendency to openly persecute communists. It is not the open struggle of ideas, but the clearly marked desire to paralyze the influence of the CPSU among young people that is the principal aim of this pressure campaign. Only a high level of pedagogical and political culture in the activities of educational establishments can enable our society to prepare the younger generation for life under conditions of a civilized democracy.

Instead of the former coercive ideological monopolism, the teaching process must embody a wide variety of ideas and viewpoints that give youth the opportunity to independently perceive and formulate with conviction their own world outlook. Helping students in this is the vocation of teachers, each of whom will be unable to carry out his professional duty if he does not have his own standpoint and the necessary argumentation. At the same time, it is wrong to turn educational establishments into a battlefield of political passions that hinder the accomplishment of instructional and pastoral tasks.

Participating in the discussion were I.I. Melnikov, CPSU Central Committee Secretariat member; G.V. Semenova and A.N. Girenko, CPSU Central Committee secretaries; and I.I. Frolov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and editor-in-chief of PRAVDA.

The Central Committee Secretariat considered intolerable a weakening on the part of party committees in constructive dialogue between party, soviet, and komsomol workers and young students and pupils on topical social and political problems. Also intolerable is a reduction in activity by party committees in propagating socialist ideas and values and the role of the CPSU in the life of society.

Measures have been planned aimed at increasing work for rethinking the goals, content, means, and methods of work in the educational institutions of party, komsomol, and pioneer organizations, and at renewing and creating new clubs and associations, taking into account the various interests and needs of young students.

The Secretariat session examined drafts of a number of party documents which in the near future will be produced for discussion by communists. It also developed the CPSU's approaches to establishing links with new political parties and movements in the countries of East Europe which show interest in this.

Kalugin Case Adjourned Until 23 October

LD0210171990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1240 GMT 2 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondents Igor Gvritishvili and Igor Peskov]

[Text] Moscow 2 Oct (TASS)—Examination of the appeal by former KGB Major General Oleg Kalugin against the actions of KGB Chairman Vladimir Kryuchkov—as a result of which Kalugin was stripped of his pension—began today in the Moscow city courthouse.

The court is sitting under the chairmanship of Nikolay Romanenkov, a member of the Moscow City Court Service. Viktor Alekseyev, head of the KGB legal department, is representing KGB head Vladimir Kryuchkov in court.

As Oleg Kalugin stated at the sitting, it was a "punishment for his criticism" to strip him of his rank of general, and an "inhuman act, a gross violation of the country's constitution and of human rights" to deprive him of his pension.

Viktor Alekseyev, representing the KGB chairman, explained that the decision to deprive Oleg Kalugin of his pension was taken on the basis of the USSR Council of Ministers decision of 29 June 1990 to strip him of his major general rank, and the regulations governing the pension entitlement of servicemen. One paragraph in these regulations states that officers and generals who are stripped of their military rank cease to receive a military pension. Such persons receive a pension in the normal way when they attain pensionable age (Kalugin will reach this age in five years' time.)

At the same time, the KGB representative petitioned the court to discontinue the examination. This was denied. During the examination Oleg Kalugin and his lawyer submitted to the court documents containing replies from the heads of a number of union ministries that "according to their information" the 29 July 1990 meeting of the USSR Council of Ministers "either did not take place, or they did not know of it". On the basis of this, Oleg Kalugin claimed that the Council of Ministers resolution stripping him of his general's rank was "invalid, and consequently the decision by the KGB to deprive him of his pension is illegal."

The court decided to ask the country's government for clarification of all the circumstances surrounding the decision on the case of the former KGB general. The court also decided to postpone the hearings on Kalugin's appeal and to continue them on 23 October, when a reply has been received to the questions sent to the USSR Council of Ministers and the country's military Procuracy.

Replying to journalists' questions immediately after the session, Oleg Kalugin stressed that the main reason for his action is to ensure that "in the event of illegal and unlawful actions on the part of officialdom, any Soviet citizen could use my experience to stand up in court and defend his rights."

Describing today's session, Oleg Kalugin commented on the "favorable atmosphere of the proceedings" and added that the postponement of the hearings will allow "additional facts to be found", which will enable justice to be restored.

Oleg Kalugin is to appear at another court hearing on 12 October. In the court of the Russian Federation the former general will contest the legality of the refusal to have his complaint against USSR Council of Ministers Chairman Nikolay Ryzhkov examined. In his opinion, the latter "stripped him of his general's rank illegally."

Kalugin Discusses KGB, Role as Deputy

90UN0574A Kiev KOMSOMOLSKOYE ZNAMYA in Russian 16 Sep 90 pp 8-9

[Report on interview with Oleg Kalugin, Krasnodar people's deputy and former chief of the KGB First Main Directorate Foreign Counterintelligence Department, by correspondent Ye. Savchenko; place and date not given: "To Serve the Motherland or the Apparatus?"]

[Text] Moscow—The question of an investigation by deputies into the activity of Committee for State Security organs is being debated at the USSR Supreme Soviet session now under way. It is common knowledge that 117 USSR people's deputies have signed a demand for an appropriate parliamentary investigation. A similar decision—to check that the instructions and orders in force in the KGB system are in accordance with the laws of the USSR, and to conduct an objective study of the matter—has been adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Youth Affairs...

One of the reasons for this far from simple and delicate situation has been the statements and announcements by a number of KGB workers. They include Oleg Danilovich Kalugin, who was until recently a major general in the KGB and was in the past one of the leaders of Soviet intelligence in the United States, and is the former chief of the USSR KGB First Main Directorate Foreign Counterintelligence Department. It is his interview to a number of publications that has perhaps elicited the greatest interest and controversy. By order of the President of the USSR O.D. Kalugin was stripped of his civilian decorations for actions bringing shame and dishonor to workers in the organs of state security, and by resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers was also stripped of his military rank of major general of the reserves, and by order of the KGB, of his decoration "Honored Associate of State Security." Do the facts set forth in statements by certain KGB associates really require parliamentary review? How should we assess what is happening and relate it to the reality of life today and with the course aimed at creating a rule-of-law state? This is dealt with in this interview with USSR People's Deputy O.D. Kalugin, elected for the Krasnodar national territorial district No 15 to replace the incumbent I.K. Polozkov.

[Savchenko] The first question, Oleg Danilovich, is on the latest news—your election as a USSR people's deputy. Hand on heart, did you believe in the success of your undertaking right from the start?

[Kalugin] Let me say immediately that I did not get myself published in the press especially for the purpose of becoming a deputy. It just happened. They simply telephoned from Krasnodar and suggested that I run as a candidate. I agreed. Everything started from the bottom. It was not my initiative. And doubts about success?... I believed that I had to try. At least I was not afraid, nor did I have serious doubts. I am a man who is accustomed to various kinds of critical situations, including independent decisions. And so I decided that in order to think about the possible, I had to think about the impossible. That is how it happened.

[Savchenko] What moved you at that moment? What exactly were your motives?

[Kalugin] Mainly that a vacancy had arisen because of Ivan Polozkov. If it had been a different electoral district, I may not have agreed. Even less, travel out to distant parts. The more so since they had also suggested that I run as a candidate for the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] people's deputy. But when I learned that this was "Polozkov's district" I leaped at the thought of the political interest: What if I set myself against Polozkov? Not as a person, but as a representative of the conservative forces against which I had already embarked on my struggle. And so my decision was political rather than a display of personal interest.

[Savchenko] And what about the Kuban? What did you find?

[Kalugin] Of course, it was difficult. Of all the forces, it was virtually the entire party's power that hampered me and my proxies. And the soviet authorities, and the KGB, and even the church obeyed it.

[Savchenko] The church?

[Kalugin] ... Yes, even the church, which as I understand it was linked with the KGB and the party organs. The church acted and"agitated" against me in the person of Archbishop Isidor. And the press in Krasnodar Kray was exclusively hostile. For example, the newspaper SOVETSKAYA KUBAN, the organ of the kray party committee, gave me no opportunity at all to appear on its pages. Even though as a candidate for the post of deputy I had that right. On the contrary, the newspaper literally poured muck down on me and printed "hostile" collections of letters without end, but did not publish one single positive letter; everything was exclusively negative... I know that the rayon party committees [raykoms] received orders from above to work to prevent my election. For example, to block meetings with voters, to prevent them from being admitted, or to keep the microphones from them by any means, and to interfere with the implementation of the election program of action by our support group... In short, the full power of the party-state machine was brought into play to oppose me. Just one man! If it had not been for the help from Moscow deputies and USSR and RSFSR people's deputies who traveled out to Krasnodar Kray to assist me...

[Savchenko] Exactly who volunteered to fight alongside you for the seat?

[Kalugin] USSR people's deputies Gdlyan, Ivanov, Belozertsev, and Korobkina. Zubkov from Rostov, and RSFSR deputies Kachanov, Loryagina, Urazhtsev, Mironov, Politkovskiy... They traveled out repeatedly to help me. For in Krasnodar they even refused us printing services and the use of duplicating equipment, and we were unable to print anything. They helped us with the leaflets in Rostov, Nizhniy Novgorod, and Moscow, from which they sent the leaflets to us. For my rivals in the district, on the contrary, everything was quite different. For example, my "last" rival (in the second round of voting) Gorovoy produced 1.5 million leaflets. We had only about 20,000 for the entire kray, printed far away with the help of well-wishers. And of course, we received strong support from local democratic forces. There are not too many of them, but my arrival and then the arrival of progressive people's deputies produced what I would call a sharp wave of sympathy. We set up active support groups in many places and they are still there today. I think that in the future I shall engage in all political activity and my work as a deputy with the help of these active people from the support groups...

[Savchenko] Much has been reported in the press about how the authorities hampered you more because of how the people regarded Kalugin the candidate.

[Kalugin] And the people welcomed my statements in a very kindly manner. No, well, of course there were some hostile actions (mainly from the apparatus). Like the shouts of "Traitor!" and "Betrayer!"... But the overwhelming majority of the people of the Kuban, whom some call conservatives, turned out to be frightened people, but people who can think and who want real changes. And they showed this at the elections: Almost 1.3 people voted for the "stranger." Not for their "own" man from the Kuban, but for an "out-of-towner" from Moscow; that is the first thing. And second, they voted for someone who had been disgraced and humiliated by the authorities. This was virtually a challenge to the authorities and a slap in the face for the local party and soviet apparatus. And I say that what happened was a warning to the country's president since he in fact acted unlawfully toward me by stripping me of my awards and decorations and my pension. And the people showed that they condemn the president and the government. At the meetings many people spoke about this with indignation. I would like to say that we have politicized the Kuban, which previously was regarded as "a region of frightened raykoms." I think that the party autocrats have been able to sense the mood of the people.

[Savchenko] The talk now is that you will be joining the Yeltsin-Silayev government.

[Kalugin] And it is only talk. There have been no official approaches anywhere from anyone. It is just talk.

[Savchenko] To the point: Rumors are also circulating to the effect that your public statements have become possible because of secret support from certain very highly placed relations, even from the Kosygin and Ustinov families. Is this so?

[Kalugin] Yes, right... My father's origin was among the peasants of Orel, and he was dismissed from the organs of the Ministry of State Security in 1955 (his service position was to protect the leaders of Leningrad). My mother came from a worker's family and was born in Petersburg. My wife? In my opinion, she is a average citizen. Although her father did serve as chief of a branch of the Military Political Academy imeni V.I. Lenin, he was dismissed from the Army long ago when he held the rank of colonel because of a liaison with a young woman. And his wife was a schoolteacher. That covers the question of my relatives.

[Savchenko] Do you still consider yourself a "man of the state" as before because of your long period of work in the organs, or are you now merely a "citizen" and a "democrat"?

[Kalugin] You see, I am not a private person and I do not feel that I am. And my public statements in the press constitute the essence of and are an expression of my civic position as a man who is concerned for the interests, or at least the vital interests, of society and the state.

[Savchenko] And are you really being candid today? For an intelligence officer, like a diplomat, always hides his true thoughts and feelings, and here people must have doubts about the facts concerning the methods and standards of life within the KGB that you have cited.

[Kalugin] Well, I do not know who among us in the Soviet Union could speak more candidly on this subject. If there are others then I am ready to yield to them. Up to now, it seems, I really am one of the first to talk about this "banned" subject. As a past official and leading worker in the KGB. So that if someone does not believe me, or doubts my sincerity, well, that is his affair, as they say. I am not about to try to convince someone specially. But I will say this: In general, many today rarely believe in simply honest and decent people. This, unfortunately, is the disease of our society, which has so dissuaded people that they are not inclined to believe even basic honesty but instead look for intrigue and secret actions and so forth. And what they say to me is something that I have already heard: "Are you not Kryuchkov's 'decoy' for Yeltsin? In such cases I usually say that you have a very high opinion of our leadership's intellectual level...

[Savchenko] And yet another moral aspect. What do you think of the role of neophyte that has been chosen for you? Do you experience any inner discomfort?

[Kalugin] You know, I do not feel that there has been any sharp change in my behavior. In the sense that I have always been on the side of truth and justice and the down-trodden individual. I always acted thus when in the KGB, and now, having left the KGB and knowing that the KGB also has been the cause of considerable harm to many people, I act from those same positions. That is, if you will, this line of conduct is for me consistent. I see no divergence here between the past and the present. The more so since during the years that I worked in the KGB, I do not believe that any Soviet person was ever harmed by me as a leader for his political views. My conscience is clear, and in that sense I feel no "moral discomfort."

[Savchenko] Did you become an intelligence officer by chance or by calling?

[Kalugin] I was always interested in intelligence work. It was a very attractive form of work, as they say, for a man. I liked it, very much. But intelligence work and the KGB are different things in some areas. For all of us the KGB was first and foremost a symbol of fear, and symbol of force, and even a symbol of dishonor. But intelligence is an activity that is absolutely essential for the state. In all times and epochs it has insured not just the security and interests of the party (where our leadership is found); it is simply essential for the state and for its might. So that there is a definite, and very significant, difference here. It is one thing to work in intelligence and quite another to work in the internal apparatus, the apparatus of repression.

[Savchenko] Were you successful, did you enjoy successes? And of course, I would like to ask what exactly those successes were.

[Kalugin] Successes? Of course there were successes. I have been given 22 state and departmental awards. True, there were also a dozen or so foreign awards. But I should say that I was never given an order or medal for fulfilling a five-year plan. And of specific successes? You understand that it is not yet time...

[Savchenko] Oleg Danilovich, as a convinced enemy of the compilation of political dossiers here in the country, tell me, please, did your former "office" maintain a dossier on me as a journalist? Can I make a telephone call without the fear of "being heard," or write candid letters without them "being read"?

[Kalugin] If the KGB has any doubts about you, that is, with respect to your political trustworthiness, then you may be the subject of wiretaps and so on and so forth. But of course, it is simply impossible to eavesdrop on all citizens. And there is no need to. For this it would necessary to have some material indicating possible hostile activity on your part. There is a chance today that you would be noticed by the organs if, for example, you belonged to some informal movement, and so on and so forth. But if you were a member of the CPSU and behaved very calmly and "did not give yourself a high profile," then the chances are small. And so, for example, my telephone is tapped, there is no doubt about that. True, I do not know whether it is worthwhile for the organs to spend the people's money on this, but... Let them listen.

[Savchenko] Well, for example, is there a KGB informer in our republic newspaper?

[Kalugin] Quite possibly. But, you understand, I have no right to claim this definitely. I would have to know for sure.

[Savchenko] How do you assess the recent ukase issued by the USSR president on the restructuring of the KGB political organs?

[Kalugin] In the form in which it has been published this presidential ukase will not solve the problem. We have to talk about disbanding the political organs, not reforming them. Reform will mean that the signboard will be changed once again but the essential nature of the thing will remain the same. In the Army, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the KGB it is necessary to preserve, for example, legal and social protection, and psychological services. But what is a political service for here? Party problems? Surely those are for the Communist Party? I believe that this is illegal for the political organs; today the CPSU is no longer the "leading and guiding" party. It does not follow from the ukase issued by the president of the USSR that it is a matter of some cardinal and serious reform. It is obviously just the latest camouflage; it is not a step forward but a step sideways.

[Savchenko] Is there any news from the Moscow city court on the review of the action you have brought against the country's leadership?

[Kalugin] Everything is still up in the air. There is no news.

[Savchenko] What has caused you the most grief—being stripped of your awards and titles, or being stripped of your pension?

[Kalugin] Everything, all three of them. It was all illegal. Illegal!

[Savchenko] Do people sympathize with you? Are your former colleagues in the organs in solidarity with the uncompromising position you have taken?

[Kalugin] Of course. I know dozens of people. It is not just people who have retired who criticize the organ of state security, but also people still working there. To judge from the press, I think that I am not alone. More and more associates still working there are talking about the crisis within the KGB. For I, and many others, I am sure, joined the organs to protect the motherland and its interests. But it turns out that what is needed now is something else—first and foremost loyal service to the party apparatus and protecting its privileges and covering up for its disgraceful actions. In order to put an end to the degeneration and lack of professionalism within the walls of the KGB, it is necessary first of all to put an end to the function of "serving the party organs" at all levels. Then, I am sure, the favoritism and protectionism and corruption will disappear. Meanwhile... Meanwhile, the KGB is the servant of the party apparatus. And the organs have always been subject to the will of the party, a tool of the party. This is actually written in many KGB documents. Except for a few years before the war, the KGB has always been guided only by instructions from the party Central Committee.

While working in Leningrad, in particular, I got an idea of the activity of the committee within the Soviet Union. I am firmly convinced that if we, the Soviet people, really want perestroyka then we do not have the right to rely on the methods of an organization that penetrates into every pore of our state and public organism, and on instructions from the party nomenklatura unceremoniously interferes in all spheres of life, be it economy, politics, science, culture, the arts, sport, or religion. Today, I know that in every field of our country the so-called "hand of the KGB" is present. The methods and approach essentially have not changed since the 1920's and 1930's. Just like the functions of all-permeating political investigation. The only things that have changed are the targets: first they were monarchists, Mensheviks, and social revolutionaries; then Trotskiyites, cosmopolitans, and nationalists, to Hara Krishna people, the informals, and the members of strike committees.

[Savchenko] Are you a member of the CPSU?

[Kalugin] No, I quit the party immediately after the 28th CPSU Congress. I believed that it made no sense to remain in the party.

[Savchenko] Have you been rebuked for the fact that when talking about KGB instructions forbidding operational work against party workers who have committed some transgression, you also forgot about the "taboo" on other nomenklatura—deputies at all levels?

[Kalugin] Remember that I did not claim that the list of "untouchables" that I gave in the interview was exhaustive or complete. The essence of the thing lay elsewhere, in the very postulation of the question, in the existence of special lists that protect "special people" from unpleasantness. This is surely not so important. The main thing is that everyone is by no means equal under the law...

[Savchenko] So, is there or is there not a Ninth Directorate in the KGB that insures a life without trouble for the nomenklatura?

[Kalugin] What can I tell you; it has in principle been renamed the protection service. They have even reduced the staff. But alas! This does not mean that the essence of the subdivision has changed. It is just as it was—a court institution. There is no argument about it—the president does need protection. For example, together with police, the protection for presidents of the United States numbers something on the order of 700 people. And remember, this includes the drivers and the bodyguards and so forth. And our department (now the former Ninth Directorate) is as big as the ministry wants. It has been given almost unlimited opportunities in any sphere, and its maintenance costs sums that the mind cannot grasp. But the main thing is that it is never controlled by anyone.

[Savchenko] Would you agree to a direct television hookup with the leaders of the all-Union KGB who are regularly denying your claims?

[Kalugin] I am ready to do this today, with anyone at any time.

[Savchenko] Which is more powerful and effective, the KGB or the CIA?

[Kalugin] The KGB, of course, is more powerful; there is nothing like its network anywhere. But more effective? Perhaps the CIA. Less effort is spent there to achieve the same aims and results.

[Savchenko] Without beating about the bush, which, in your opinion, is greater—the "KGB spy games" or the real protection of state interests?

[Kalugin] There is enough of both. Of course, it is serious and essential work. But you see, in the struggle against spies, there are very strong sentiments in the KGB that could be described as spy mania. That is, suspicion of people, particularly foreigners. And ties with foreigners. The typical old Russian attitude, xenophobia, so to speak. Suspicion of foreigners in our reality has become hypertrophied, and the KGB supports this way of thinking. So that people shun foreigners—the enemy, the spy, the wrecker and so forth. And in this sense the fight against espionage sometimes shows the obverse of the coin—harmful for society and its health, so to speak. Particularly now, during the democratic press.

[Savchenko] What was your "blackest day"?

[Kalugin] My worst day? I do not think I have yet experienced it.

[Savchenko] What about corruption in the echelons of power with which you were familiar? Did anyone try to fight it?

[Kalugin] I did not know everything, of course, but some. And I fought it in Leningrad, and actively. Both the militia and the procuracy were corrupt there. Materials would come in about workers in the party obkom. And then what? Instructions were immediately issued by the obkom leadership—stop the investigation. And then I decided not to leave it there, and I appealed to the Central Committee. A commission arrived and... decided that the "facts had not been confirmed." Somewhat earlier, while still in Moscow, I had also encountered corruption, speculation, and account padding in the work of the embassy and the trade representation. It was possible to unmask some of them, but often, despite the evidence in the materials collected, the case never got to a certain level of the nomenklatura, the investigation would again be stopped. Friends and colleagues used to say that I would not "survive." For example, say that an official had taken a large sum from the state coffers, well so what? He does not pocket it but passes it on to someone above, to someone he needs, and to his friend, and so on and so forth... And once again we have a mutual guarantee, a closed circle.

[Savchenko] Was Andropov sympathetic to you?

[Kalugin] Yes, in one sense, of course, because that man was out of the ordinary; he stood head and shoulders above those around him. Whereas Brezhnev and the other top officials were the embodiment of mediocrity, "gray" people, Andropov was a man of intelligence, very competent and knowledgeable. In this sense he differed strikingly from his other comrades who were top leaders. But he was never a democrat; he was a convinced supporter of the authoritarian regime. There is no doubt about that.

[Savchenko] And Kryuchkov?

[Kalugin] Kryuchkov is a mere shadow of him. He has always been an aide. He played the role of aide to Andropov and in my opinion he never progressed out of the "staff of aides." He started out in the post of personal secretary to Andropov and then worked as aide and chief in the secretariat under Yuriy Vladimirovich, when the latter became chief of a party Central Committee department. When they named Andropov chairman of the KGB, Kryuchkov was already his chief of secretariat, and in the early 1970's he was moved to the post of first deputy chief of intelligence, but for financial and economic matters. And so on, and he grew, as you see.

[Savchenko] Oleg Danilovich, you served, as they say, loyally and truly in the organs for 32 years. What if you had "not left" and were still serving today. Would you have remained silent?

[Kalugin] Well, working there in the KGB, I repeatedly sent in memorandums and letters to the CPSU Central Committee and to Gorbachev. I virtually exhausted my possibilities, and I started to speak in the open press. It was this that led to my dismissal. That is, I already knew where I was going, and Chebrikov warned me that if I wrote I would be superannuated at age 55. I told him fine, and I continued to write about the shortcomings. In short, I moved onto that path voluntarily and deliberately.

[Savchenko] What do you think about facing the walls of the numerous buildings in the Lubyanka with stones showing the names of those killed within the walls of the United State Political Administration at the Council of People's Commissars [OGPU], the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs [NKVD], and the KGB?

[Kalugin] This is something for the future. I think that there will not be space enough on the walls for the names of those tortured and other victims. It is probably unrealistic, but for the sake of conscience we must establish a memorial to those who died within the walls of the NKVD, and those who died in the GULAG. And it is just as important to insure a life of dignity for those innocent people who suffered but survived. So that those alive today can live like people and not... I do not even know what to call the existence that rehabilitated persons, or at least, many of them, drag out.

[Savchenko] How can the country's parliament exercise control over the KGB? And who else?

[Kalugin] Two kinds of control are possible. First, with the aid of the country's Supreme Soviet, but real control, not "control over the money," as it is now in the Supreme Soviet Defense and State Security Committee (its former chairman was an "absolute zero"; I do not know about its present chairman). And second, strict control by the public and the press, first and foremost. This is very important. But of course, only where this does not pose a threat to state interests.

[Savchenko] Do you think that the KGB First Main Directorate will work better or worse without you?

[Kalugin] It is difficult to say with any certainty how it is working today, for instance. But in my opinion, one of my former colleagues was right when he said that it is not a sausage factory... There was a foundation to this. My comrades and I created that service; it did not exist earlier. And when it went into operation, I headed it for seven years. And the KGB First Main Directorate operates as a normal, healthy mechanism. Although... although the betrayals by some there does not bring honor to the service or bring it any adornment.

[Savchenko] What about the Leningrad KGB administration?

[Kalugin] In Leningrad I was first deputy chairman of the KGB administration and no claims were made on me and I recall that I worked normally. But the post was eliminated as soon as I left. It was obviously not needed...

[Savchenko] Who are your friends?

[Kalugin] Oh, I seem to have hundreds of friends. Who are they? Well now, there was an understanding that a general from the KGB and from the Main Intelligence Directorate [GRU], and well- known journalists, physicians, and USSR and RSFSR people's deputies would all drop in to see me. Also party and soviet workers. Do not be surprised; there are sensible, honest people everywhere, in any apparatus, wherever.

[Savchenko] If you had a million of them, how would you deploy them?

[Kalugin] I understand that this is a "test," but if you are serious, not just playing... I would allocate a significant proportion of them to the "Memorial" and the rest... The rest of the million I would assign to a philanthropic foundation for old people, low-income people, orphans, the hungry, the poorly clothed.

[Savchenko] Does your family support you in all this today?

[Kalugin] Those close to me support "my course." Totally. I have very strong support: my wife, my children, my mother. My daughter and son-in-law and my wife live with me, and I also have another daughter who lives alone in Moscow.

[Savchenko] Well, what about the future? How will you start your term as a deputy?

[Kalugin] Two problems need to be solved first. These are economic independence for the Kuban, because at present virtually everything produced there is exported to the center or outside the region. The one-time rich Kuban is now poor. And the second is dealing with the mafioso and the groupings that are very strong in Krasnodar Kray. In this I shall rely on the public, and I have gathered a great deal of material on this problem. People want to fight evil and the dominance of the old Medunov cadres who alas! are still firmly in place. There is work enough here.

[Savchenko] And are the best years behind you, are they now?

[Kalugin] I think that my life is only just beginning. Only now. It will be better in the future. I am an optimist.

USSR Entry-Exit Law Problems Anticipated

90UN2889A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Sep 90 Second Edition p 6

[Report on interview with Rudolf Kuznetsov, chief of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Visas and Registration Department, by A. Urvantsev; place and date not given: "I Hope They Do Not Fall Into the Hands of Mafia"]

[Text]**Everybody remembers what was happening during this summer and fall at the western border of our country. All of this is behind us now—lines of cars on the roads stretching for miles, thousands of people besieging the border checkpoints. But the number of people going to other countries is not becoming any smaller. Where are they going? What will their lives be like? What should we do to ensure that each of our compatriots has a good trip or becomes a successful permanent resident somewhere rather than being caught in the net of a foreign mafia? These are the current concerns of R. Kuznetsov, chief of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] Visas and Registration Department [VIR].**

[Urvantsev] Rudolf Alekseyevich, the procedure of getting a permit for foreign travel has been considerably simplified. Things must have changed for the better in the area of human contacts?

[Kuznetsov] Our figures give eloquent proof of this. You can judge for yourself: Last year 2.5 million people traveled to other countries for personal reasons alone. This is 20 times more than in 1986. Also a lot more people are leaving the country for permanent residency abroad. In the seven months of this year, emigration permits were issued to 234,000 people, and this is 2.2 times more than in the same period of last year.

[Urvantsev] It might be interesting to know, to what countries are most people going?

[Kuznetsov] This year, as in previous years, most people emigrate to Israel—132,000 of them; 73,000 are going to the second most popular country—FRG; the number of those going to Greece has increased to 17,000. The situation is rather interesting where it concerns the United States. This year 5.3 thousand people requested and were granted a permit to emigrate. Numbers of people willing to go to other countries are growing, but the number of people who have received invitations to live in the United States is 1.6 times smaller this year compared to last year.

[Urvantsev] What regions of our country supply the largest number of emigrants to the United States?

[Kuznetsov] The majority of the people going to that country are Armenians; they make up 54 percent.

[Urvantsev] Would these numbers rapidly increase after the Supreme Soviet of the country passes the new Entry and Exit Law?

[Kuznetsov] We, of course, made an estimate of the possible number of emigrants in the first year after the new regulations are introduced. This number might reach 7 to 8 million people. Now we have a total of 72,000 applications for exit papers.

[Urvantsev] Do you agree with all the provisions of the draft law?

[Kuznetsov] I think it contains a number of debatable provisions. It says, for instance, that a citizen needs nothing but a passport to leave the country. This phrasing can confuse people and here is why: Certain countries require more than the passport for the entry. First, they want a visa; second, they might require a vaccination certificate—a whole set of papers, in other words.

There is another thing, no less important: the draft law, different from the current law, does not require that the person leaving the country have an invitation, whether he goes for a temporary visit or becomes a permanent resident. In other words, one would just need to fill in an application and have the passport and then he can go to any country in the world. But there are countries like Finland, for instance, that will require, as far as we know, that the visitor has an invitation as a guarantee of his material and financial support during his stay there. What should we do then?

[Urvantsev] What is the reaction of other countries to the new draft Entry and Exit Law?

[Kuznetsov] This item is also on our agenda. Some countries are revising their immigration policy and make corresponding decisions in this respect. They lower some of the quotas that will allow for worse conditions for the stay of our citizens in those countries. I think that the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs [MID] has to work with the foreign representatives to somehow regulate this complex process, at least in future.

[Urvantsev] We cannot forget that the Law on USSR Citizenship will become effective 1 January 1991. It will require more protection for the rights and interests of the Soviet people abroad. What is VIR reaction to this act of legislation?

[Kuznetsov] It would do no good if we allow the migration policy to follow its own course and start working according to the principle: Go whichever way you want and wherever you want. Again we will see hundreds or maybe thousands of ruined lives and unjustified sacrifices. Who can leave the country in the near future to go live in another country permanently or temporarily? We conducted research to find this out and here is what we learned: It is possible that 1.3 million highly qualified workers would leave during the initial period. And we do not want to see even some of these people join the army of illegal workers in the West who are being exploited mercilessly. Neither do we want the organs that control the foreign workers to catch our citizens in the direct sense of the word and take specific action against them.

[Urvantsev] Is it obvious then that we need to take some urgent preventive measures to avoid this?

[Kuznetsov] Urgent is the right word. The process of migration is unavoidable and it will be protected by the law. I am afraid of just one thing: Unless the corresponding state organs try to organize this process more efficiently, we cannot exclude the possibility of our citizens falling into the hands of the local mafia. And the symptoms of this are already evident; there are dealers who are quite willing to do some "job placement" of Soviet citizens as they think convenient.

The State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, together with other state bodies, has to enter international agreements aimed at protecting the interests of Soviet citizens whether they leave to work for a while or become permanent residents in any country.

[Urvantsev] Do we need to have some reliable and updated information on the availability of jobs? Do we also need to know the laws of the countries to which our people leave?

[Kuznetsov] Yes, we do. For years we lived in a closed society and due, to this circumstance, our people developed some false impressions of the West where, it seemed, money grew on trees. In this respect, we need to do some explanatory work on TV and in press and to involve in it representatives of other countries rather than our own officials. Let them describe their laws and job opportunities. Otherwise, if the information of this nature comes solely from us, it will be viewed as one more attempt at counterpropaganda.

[Urvantsev] In connection with the new laws, should our consulates and missions in other countries also become more active as they protect the wishes and interests of their compatriots?

[Kuznetsov] That is correct. The problem can be phrased in this way: Either we provide the right to leave the country guaranteeing it from the moral and material points of view, or this right remains on paper again.

[Urvantsev] And now some words on your internal difficulties. The VIR services have shortages of exit passports, you need more personnel...

[Kuznetsov] That is putting it very mildly. Let us suppose that during one year several million people complete applications for exit passports. We will not be able to comply and here is why: The State Bank Notes, Coins, and Medals Administration facilities can supply only one-fifth of the VIR total requirements of exit passport forms. These facilities have insufficient production capacities. They already need more hard currency investments to buy the necessary equipment.

[Urvantsev] The exit passport will change with time also, would it not?

[Kuznetsov] Together with the USSR MID we are working on a new type of exit document. In a few years it will be printed by computer and comply with international standards.

[Urvantsev] Do you expect any transportation problems to arise due to mass foreign travel of our people?

[Kuznetsov] We have them already. It is often that speculators buy and sell train and plane tickets. People wait in huge lines, in summer especially, to get their transit papers. We will have to increase considerably the number of foreign flights, as well as the number of trains. There is simply no other way out.

The performance of our checkpoints is another sore point. We obviously do not have enough of them and the ones that we do have are ill-equipped. We also have to revise the VIR personnel quotas. At present we already need an additional 3,500 employees to provide timely service of high quality.

Until now we could not afford full, modernized computerization of VIR offices. For that reason it often takes a long time to process the exit applications; the paperwork procedure is just as complex as before, mainly because most of it is still done manually. The VIR offices do not have convenient reception rooms, especially where the service has been decentralized.

In other words, there is a fair number of problems and we will be able to resolve them only if we ensure that the interested ministries and agencies provide a comprehensive and balanced approach to them.

ZHURNALIST Editor Cited on News Policy

LD0310155590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 1 Oct 90

[Interview with ZHURNALIST editor in chief D.S. Avraamov by correspondent Aleksandr Barkhatov; date and place not given; from the "Newspapers and Journals 1991" feature of the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Barkhatov] Is the social protection of journalists today as important as defending a view which perhaps might not coincide with the official, generally received view?

[Avraamov] Well, in this respect, you have long traditions of defending journalists against reprisal. Will this be continued?

[Avraamov] Without a doubt, without a doubt, we will. The section titled "We will defend a comrade" is one of the most important in our journal. In the first place, we publish cases of the dishonest use of words, we take up the defense of journalists against party bureaucrats and against those new bureaucrats who have very quickly mastered the methods of the party bureaucrats.

And what is very important, and very terrible now, is that journalists are experiencing terrible pressure from the crowd. We have a section "the hot-spot press"—these are the events in Dushanbe, Baku, (Novvy Uzen), Chelyabinsk, and journalists are sometimes the objects of the crowd's violence. We also write about that.

Well, next year, each of us will have to subscribe to fewer publications...

[Barkhatov] Costs have increased...

[Avraamov]...and so we have decided to provide our readers with the opportunity—to put it very briefly, a digest will be opened on our pages, from no. Ten this year. We will print the more interesting articles of publications which are not so easy to obtain. I have in mind both the local press, the informal press, in general, whatever we feel merits the professional attention of our colleagues. For those who want to learn how to work with words, perhaps to work in the sphere of journalism in the future, we are opening a college with the widest education program right up to correspondence typewriting.

NOVOYE VREMYA Activities Reported

LD0310163690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 27 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The Vremya program is a guest at NOVOYE VREMYA. This is a well known weekly which has been published in our country for many years, but in the recent period it has become one of the balanced journals providing the most precise description of the events taking place.

[A.B. Pumpyanskiy, editor-in-chief of NOVOYE VREMYA] You know, our main theme is politics. Foreign politics, domestic politics. Politics is not only departmental activity, it's not departmental activity. Politics is human rights, politics is people's attitude to, say, the death penalty; politics is emigration, politics is ecology, politics is the economy, attitudes to reform, politics is choosing a path, primarily of social development. Politics is everywhere.

People are now going out in their thousands, hundreds of thousands, on to the streets. Why? Because politics has attracted them. It is another matter, what kind of politics, so to speak. In our journal we would like to help people to find their way, to know why the govemment should be criticized, and why others should, perhaps, be criticized. In our last edition there is an article which is called "Thank you Husayn, we seem to be seeing the light." also on attitudes to socialist countries, or former socialist countries—I don't know what to call them; on attitudes just to history—what happend on the Korean peninsula when war broke out 40 years ago.

In our journal we are trying to relate real history, and draw the real history of modern times. There are authors who wrote articles for us a long time ago—Trotskiy, Merezhkovskiy, Aldanov, and so on. They did not write for us, I mean, for modern times; they wrote for our society, but we, society, were cut off from this. One of our columns is actually called, "manuscripts do not burn."

[Reporter] What is your subscription price?

[Pumpyanskiy] Our subscripton price unfortunately, has gone up this year. It has doubled—31.20 rubles per annum, and one journal costs 60 kopecks.

[Reporter] About 10 years ago I remember that this was a trade union journal. It is now written simply: political weekly. Whose organ is it?

[Pumpyanskiy] No one's. Even prior to the law on the press, we aren't linked, and won't be linked with any political party, nor with any narrow ideological platform. We consider that our credo and our task is to rouse our readers, or society, to political pluralism and to intellectual liberty.

[Reporter] And in telling you about the weekly, I want to draw your attention to the covers: Each one is a graphic placard. This one, for example: There is a harvest, will there be bread?" Or NOVOYE VREMYA, burning issues, subscribe!"

Publishing Chief Interviewed on Anniversary

LD0310144690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 1 Oct 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The Khudozhestvennaya Literatura publishing house is 60 years old today.

[Correspondent G. Svishchenkov] Formed on 1 October 1930 on the basis of the literature and fiction sector of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Gosizdat [state publishing house] and the Zemlya i Fabrika publishing house, today it [the Khudozhestvennaya Literatura publishing house] publishes more than 400 titles. These include collected works and individual classics from the literature of the peoples of the USSR and foreign countries, it also includes books on literary studies and literary criticism. One can state boldly that each one of them meets the needs and the tastes of the widest range of readers. The pride of the collective is the 90-volume collection of the works of Lev Nikolayevich Tolstoy, the 200-volume Library of World Literature and wonderful series like Literary Memoirs, Russian Literature of the 18th Century, the Library of Ancient Literature and the Literature of the Renaissance, Classics and contemporaries. A series entitled Russian Folklore commences publication this year. A series of books has been prepared that will comprise an anthology of the Soviet short story.

[G.A. Andzhaparidze, director of the Khudozhestvennaya Literatura publishing house] The task the publishing house is setting for itself today during our anniversary year and for the future is to raise and to give the reader some of the strata of culture, which by virtue of various circumstances have been forgotten. Talking about the plans for next year, somewhat strangely I will take the end first; I will start with the literary studies, there is such a strange editorial department, and it is planning such unexpected books, one of them is entitled: The Words of the Holy Prophets [Slovesa Svyatykh Prorokov]. It is Russian philosophical and literary prose from the ninth to the 13th centuries, in other words a stratum of culture which is known only to specialists, But I think it is important. Today we very much want to know about our history, about our traditions, and roots, you know. Then there is John Chrysostom, who also has not been published, and as a father of the church, so to speak, at the same time he was a very interesting writer.

There is this kind of unexpected book among the foreign literature, a collection of verse by Friedrich Neitzsche. Probably few of our viewers know that in addition to being a philosopher Neitzsche was also a poet. We have planned a three-volume collection of the works of Nikolay Gumilev, a three-volume collection of the works of Boris Pilnyak and three volumes of Boborykin. As far as the classics of Russian literature are concerned, well some individual works have now begun to make their appearance, but the attitude toward them, too, has been fairly disdainful. I think in principle a disdainful attitude toward our own culture still exists in our country to this day, and even at the level of our government and at the level of our parliament, because attitudes toward culture and the imposition upon the cultural sphere of the same taxes as are imposed upon those who manufacture nails. I do not want to cause offense to those who produce nails, those things are also very badly needed, they are in short supply, too, but nevertheless books and culture are goods of a somewhat different kind.

But our parliamentarians have inherited an attitude toward the intelligentsia that is the same as it used to be: It's regarded as a kind of incomprehensible layer that lives like a parasite on the powerful body of the proletariat. No doubt today these things should be looked at differently. [video shows Andzhaparidze, correspondent speaking in an office]

Army Paper 'Cannot Guarantee' Street Sales

PM0310150990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Sep 90 First Edition p 4

[Unattributed reply to reader's letter under the heading "Subscription Is a Guarantee"—first two paragraphs are reader's letter]

[Text] "Despite the fact that you favor subscription to KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, I would prefer to continue buying it from a kiosk, as I have done that for years and am used to it. I am not worried that this will be more expensive but I am concerned to know whether I will still be able to obtain a copy more or less freely from retail trade outlets."

[Signed] I. Nikolayev, Kiev

To be honest, we would not venture to predict at present how the retail situation will develop. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has reached kiosks in sufficient quantities in recent years. And although, generally speaking, copies of the newspaper have not been left to gather dust, everyone wishing to buy one has been able to do so without any particular problem, as a rule. But it is hard to say whether we will be able to guarantee the same situation next year. Subscription results are still unclear at present, and we also do not know how much paper is going to be allocated for copies intended for retail. Perhaps new and unexpected problems with paper will arise in the future. The market situation is also unclear: How the newspaper will sell at the new retail price, what kind of attitude will be taken by those who sell it, and how willing they will be to order the required number of copies for sale in kiosks.... Taking all these complexities into account, we cannot guarantee that newspapers—KRASNAYA ZVEZDA included—will not join the infamous list of shortages. So we urgently recommend that everyone become a subscriber. Subscription is a guarantee.

Local Papers Complain About Uncertain Status

PM0210092790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Anatoliy Kleva under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Editors Unite"]

[Text] Kharkov—Editors from the Kharkov area have formed an independent association with the intention of preserving the rayon press.

Some 25 rayon newspapers, representing a total print run of 254,800 copies, do not know where they stand at the start of the current subscription campaign: Their status is indeterminate, their sources of finance are unknown. The publishers are in no hurry to put newspapers on their budgets.

The very existence of the newspapers and the fate of hundreds of journalists and print workers are in jeopardy. The association, part of the oblast's journalists union, sent an open letter to the party oblast committee and the oblast soviet of people's deputies, which was published in all the rayon newspapers. It said that, if they did not receive material backing from their "owners" by the end of September, the editorial offices would be forced under the Law on the Press to seek new publishers.

Newsmen Briefed on Presidential Council Session

PM0210101590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent G. Alimov: "Under the President's Control"]

[Text] On 28 September the leader of the president's press service briefed representatives of the mass media on the Presidential Council session held in the Kremlin.

Commenting on the course of the discussion of the question of measures to enhance the effectiveness of the conversion of defense sectors, V. Ignatenko emphasized that during the period through 1995 this program will unite around itself 550 major enterprises of the defense complex. The fact that all the members of the Presidential Council and the entire cream of our defense science and technology were present at the session confirms the importance and the firmness of the intentions to reorient part of the defense industry for civilian purposes.

In addition to great and urgent matters, M.S. Gorbachev makes time to examine specific appeals and statements, his aide reported. Thus, on the instructions of the USSR president the country's Prosecutor's Office has reconsidered cases in respect of several citizens, in particular Kazachkov, Fomin, and Bedlov—former managers of the Chernobyl Nuclear Electric Power Station. After making a further study of the circumstances of the case, law-enforcement organs adopted a decision to release Bedlov and Kazachkov ahead of schedule, and it was decided to conduct an additional investigation into the question of Fomin.

A U.S. newspaper correspondent inquired as to how the recently adopted decree on urgent measures to stabilize economic ties corresponds to Shatalin's program for the transition to a market economy. The correspondent asked whether Mr. Gorbachev has changed his mind with regard to the actual timing and the nature of the transition to a market economy.

"No, all this is in line with this program. But you know that we need stabilization more than ever today and it must concern, above all, monetary and financial policy, credits, etc. But, as a condition for this, it is necessary to enhance discipline in all sectors. Therefore the decree emphasizes those urgent measures which indeed bring us nearer to the transition to a market economy. It is possible that some people see elements of bureaucratic administration in this. But this has been done for just one purpose: to stabilize the state of the economy in the country as quickly as possible and arrive at the market."

Another correspondent voiced his opinion of this decree. From his viewpoint, presidential power has finally begun working as it should. He asked: Why, in Point 4 of the decree, which speaks of the reestablishment of vitally important production facilities, did the president put the question of medical supplies in first place? Of course this is no coincidence, V. Ignatenko said. In the present situation, of all the shortages, of all the lines, the lines for medical supplies may be considered the most intolerable. Unfortunately, it has so happened that a whole number of plants have dropped out of the production chain in the chemical industry. And we are experiencing a serious shortage of the most essential medicines today. The situation really can be stabilized literally in one month. This is realistic.

Will Nelson Mandela's visit to the Soviet Union take place? This visit is expected, came the reply, but a specific program does not yet exist.

Disputes Arise Over Press Registration

LD0310213990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] At a meeting today of the Council of Experts of the USSR State Committee for the Press, Metropolitan Pitirim, chairman of the Publishing Department of the Moscow Patriarchy, was presented with a certificate on the registration of ZHURNAL MOSKOVSKOY PATRIARKHI and of the MOSKOVSKIY TSERKOVNYY VESTNIK newspaper.

The question of the registration of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY was also resolved. As is known, a desire to become the founder of this popular weekly was simultaneously expressed by the board of the All- Union Znaniye society and the editorial's labor collective. On the eve of the meeting of the Council of Experts the representative of Znaniye declined to participate in it. The labor collective of Aif becomes its founder.

A paradoxical situation has arisen in the attempt to resolve the dispute for the right to found the magazine CHELOVEK I ZAKON, refusing the patronage of the USSR Justice Ministry and the Union of Lawyers, the editorial's staff members desired to become cofounders of the publication jointly with the publishing house of the CPSU Central Committee PRAVDA, in whose printing house the magazine is printed. In the room of the USSR State Committee for the Press a battle between lawyers developed without is being possible to reach an agreement. It was decided to grant them time for an independent explanation of their relations, right down to a court investigation. As the deputy chairman of the State Committee for the press explaines: Of the 715 publications submitted for registration, 344 have already been registered. The founders of one-seventh of them are private individuals. Thirteen of the registered mass news media are organs of various political parties.

While the publications now in operation are being torn by internal feuds more and more competitors are appearing on the information market.

Economic

Bank Official Cited on Foreign Debt Repayments

PM0310114790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by O. Mikheyev on interview with USSR Foreign Economic Bank Board Chairman Yu. Moskovskiy; place and date not given: "A Lesson for the Future"]

[Text] An unprecedented situation has arisen in the country's foreign economic activity. A large number of

Soviet organizations purchasing imported goods are not in a position to make their contractual payments on time.

How do things stand at the moment and what is being done to rectify the nonpayment situation? The reply comes from USSR Foreign Economic Bank Board Chairman Yu. Moskovskiy.

"Recently, beginning in May and June, major overdue payments of debts to foreign firms were made from various sources. In particular, the USSR Foreign Economic Bank signed an agreement in June with a group of West German banks on unconditional credit of 5 billion deutsche marks. We intend to use this credit primarily to pay overdue Soviet debts to West German companies in connection with past supplies of goods. We are also making an effort to pay other countries' firms. We also propose to obtain foreign currency by selling more goods on world markets. The USSR Council of Ministers has decided to allocate goods for export sale.

"As a result of the measures, for example, in the past six to eight weeks overdue debts of more than 1 billion foreign currency rubles have been paid off. However the debt is not being reduced as quickly as one would like. Some organizations are continuing to conclude contracts without bothering about how they are going to pay for them.

"But it seems to me that an appreciation of the gravity of the problem and the need to tackle it by reducing the foreign currency outlay to a minimum, is spreading among economic managers of all ranks.

"However, as well as currency credit methods of tackling the problem of ability to pay, fundamental measures connected with the reform of the economy and the entire system of economic relations in the country must make a mark.

"Of course, there are matters that need to be tackled at the state level. One of them is the current official ruble rate in relation to freely convertible currency. It is no secret that because of its false level, Soviet enterprises often find it easier to buy articles abroad than manufacture them at home. A more realistic ruble rate would place natural barriers in the way of ineffective decisions and crude errors and mistakes in foreign economic deals. Central economic organs are currently working on the question of the ruble rate. It would be good if it were changed next year.

"Since we are talking about the future, I will venture to make a forecast for the next few months concerning the settlement of Soviet organizations' overdue debts. I have no doubt that all avenues will be explored. This is dictated by the objective need to build relations with foreign partners on the basis of trust and respect. Therefore, the debt must be reduced, and in time it will be eliminated.

"We at the USSR Foreign Economic Bank believe that the practice of restricting our excessive import needs will be an important means of settling unpaid foreign debts. The foreign currency that is made available as a result of these economies must be used primarily to make absolutely sure that commitments under existing contracts are fulfilled. This is particularly important now, on the threshold of the drawing up of the 1991 import program. All Soviet organizations purchasing goods abroad must learn from recent events and think about the future."

Ust-Ilimsk Holds Symposium on Free Enterprize Zone

PM0310104290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 30 Sep 90

[Report by N. Vidonov; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The first free economic enterprise zone in Irkutsk Oblast is being set up in Ust-Ilimsk. An international symposium here was devoted to this.

[Vidonov] The participants in the symposium—the first of its kind—that is, people's deputies of various levels, scientists, production workers, and representatives of major U.S., Finnish, Japanese, FRG, and other firms, gathered here in Ust-Ilimsk to assess together this region's real potential and capacities in its transition to fundamentally new methods of economic activity and social and economic development with an eye to international experience. The industrial exploitation of the Northern Angara region began little more than 10 years ago from scratch [video shows plant]. There is now a sound natural base here [video shows dam], vast timber stocks—roughly 300 million cubic meters—and cheap electricity from the Ust-Ilimsk hydroelectric power station. Of course, far more was expected of these giants than they actually produced. But the economic development of the Ust-Ilimsk area was too one-sided and ineffective and—this is the main thing—did not benefit the people living and working here. Forest resources have been appreciably depleted and the environmental situation deteriorates literally with every day that passes. [video shows "House of Commerce"] The social infrastructure is shaping up only slowly. The symposium's participants exchanged views on a broad range of problems linked with the technical, ecological, and legal aspects of setting up a free enterprise zone in Ust-Ilimsk or other organizational and economic forms facilitating the comprehensive development of this young region in Irkutsk Oblast.

Viktor Filippovich, what hopes do you pin on economic freedom?

[V.F. Poleshchuk, city soviet chairman and Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic people's deputy] We have raw material resources, we have cadres capable of resolving these questions. We also have established ties with foreign partners. We have a powerful construction base and—most importantly—a very great desire and enthusiasm to resolve these problems.

Perm Defense Industry Holds Conversion Exhibition

PM0310112590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 1 Oct 90

[Report by M. Klepov; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] An exhibition titled "Science and Conversion" has opened in Perm.

[Klepov] The exhibition is displaying, on the one hand, samples of output used previously in defense sectors but now finding a use in the national economy, while, on the other hand, articles designed purely for peaceful purposes are also being shown. Machine parts, instruments, components for ecological and oil industry equipment, medicines, and much more besides are generating great interest.

New materials with unique properties are displayed here for the first time by the Perm Republican Engineering and Technical Center of Powder Metallurgy. You are looking at filter elements for air purification. Such elements were used on the Buran spaceship. Powder metallurgy methods are also used for the manufacture of highly porous materials used to purify molten metal and to make parts for household appliances.

Compared with traditional materials, these are reliable, more effective, and cheaper to produce.

With the assistance of the Center, powder metallurgy sections are being set up at RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Republic] enterprises.

However, conversion has brought new problems. One of them—the most important one—is the sharp reduction in the funding of fundamental and applied research.

[Professor V.N. Antsiferov, Director of the Center] The arrival of a delegation of Japanese business circles indicated that they are showing great interest in the results of work here, and obviously also at other scientific organizations in this country. Thus, we have concluded a contract with them for the supply of a range of materials which we have developed, and even for funding our scientific research work in the interests of Japanese industry.

[Klepov] It is essential to create a system to stimulate the interest of enterprises in the latest achievements of science and technology. This is possible by directing a portion of resources into research and the development of new materials.

Failure To Meet Contract Deliveries Reported

904A0612A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 25 Sep 90 p 1

[Article by O. Berezhnaya: "A Telephone Call from the Center. In Many Cities They Still Expect It"]

[Text] Almost every mail delivery brings us distressing letters and telegrams. The Khabarovsk plant "Daldizel" sends a wire to the Ministry of Heavy Machine Building, with a copy to RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, in which they complain of a plant in Ust-Kamenogorsk. The latter is disrupting their relay supplies. The reasons for their partner's poor discipline are given in the cable: "The producing plant claims insufficient funds for bearings purchases as the reason for incomplete supplies." Worker representatives from the all-Union specialized construction and installation association "Soyuzspetsstroy" asked us to publish an appeal to the workers of a related machine-building plant who quote insufficient resources and therefore refuse to sign contracts, even if covered by USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee] financing.

There are complaints about suppliers who refuse to send goods in return for the money, and there are complaints about Gosplan and Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply], who refuse to allocate the money. The appeals to partners alternate from time to time with threats of strikes if those "on top" fail to take measures. However, those "on top" are also quite at a loss.

In the first half of this year industries of our country hampered supplies of products worth 5.3 billion rubles. Nearly one out of every five plants failed to fulfill its contract obligations. The situation is far from stabilizing—it is getting worse. "What will happen in three months' time? How will the country be able to work?"—distressing questions asked by USSR Council of Ministers Chairman N. Ryzhkov. And there are more than enough reasons to be distressed. Previously, enterprises had up to 60 percent of their contracts signed by early September, but this year the figure stands at only 25 to 30 percent. The Ukraine refuses to supply goods to other republics; the Ivanovo textile mills are ready to stop work because the cotton growers of Central Asia decided to sell their cotton abroad.

What are the reasons for such a deplorable situation? Is it the sovereignty of the republics they have proclaimed? Is it the political and ethnic feuds tearing the country asunder? Yes, it is, of course. But these reasons have essentially common roots. For decades, the interests of enterprises as well as the interests of entire regions had been ignored as they were taught to do as ordered, to stand to attention, "eyes to the top."

Remember that in other countries, supply periods are measured in hours, but we measure them in three-month increments. For a foreign partner any disruption of supplies can mean total ruin, as he will have to repay the cost of the undelivered supplies as well as the lost profits. Our economic penalty for the guilty party is about as strong as a mosquito bite. What lost profits can we talk about when quite often it takes an immense effort to receive even the minute interest on the sum of the undelivered supplies.

For decades we have written and talked about this inconsistency, as well as about the total defenselessness of the consumer in face of the producer's dictatorship. But nothing has changed, and there is a reason for this. If the right to execute and the right to pardon are in the same hands, it is easy to give assignments to one's subordinates and support them with nothing but good wishes. It is not all that hard to stand at attention and humbly accept these assignments, based on previous achievements, when you know there is "no punishment" for disrupted supplies. But try to introduce a severe economic penalty that will threaten the very existence of the plant, and that will be the end of obedience. The end of the command system will follow. But there is the other side to this issue. It is doubtful that effective penalty is possible when the consumer and the producer have one master—the government. Which master will really let his own industry be auctioned off for no reason at all? And what is the result? The result is plans that are set too high and based on unavailable raw materials, meaningless work orders, and complete impunity for those who are guilty. But the disruption of supplies does not mean empty store shelves alone, it can also mean lack of safety for some people.

"Mines of the 'Donetskugol' Association do not have main vertical lift cables," V. Ilyushenko, general manager of the association, writes to us. "The situation has grown so serious that we will have to close eight mines before the end of the year, which will result in the loss of over 600,000 tonnes of coal."

V. Ilyushenko requested that the paper present the issue for consideration by the USSR government; he appended the letter with a long list of offices he had addressed before. Do we have to rely on the center again? Unfortunately, telephone calls from the center carry less and less weight as the orders on paper become less and less important. And when economic interests are not supported by the firm mutual responsibility of the partners, they lead to a further breakdown of the established economic ties.

Shortfall in Kuzbass Coal Deliveries Reported

LD0410083890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Report by correspondent Nikolay Cherkov]

[Summary] The shortfall in Kuzbass coal deliveries amounts to 3.2 million tonnes of coal, although the shipment rates are considerably higher than last year. At the beginning of the year the coal that had not been shipped was standing in mountains, but in July, August, and September shipments were almost uninterrupted. Today there is hardly any fuel in the coal stores, and the coal is being loaded almost straight from the coal faces, and freight cars are even standing idle. Although the miners will obviously manage to meet the plan, the volume of coal being mined is decreasing monthly. The deputy chief of the Kemerovo rail transportation department states that the Kuzbass miners have produced 5 million tonnes less coal since the beginning of the year than they did last year. In September the shortfall in coal output in the Kuzbass was 1.37 million tonnes according to the latest data.

Ryzhkov Government's Economic Program Lauded

PM0210091190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 27 Sep 90 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Correct Approach"]

[Text] The program of the government led by N.I. Ryzhkov is based on an exceptionally strong and politically correct approach: The utmost care must be taken in the transition to the market. A precipitate rush might lead to a collapse, thinks Melvin Faydzhen [name as transliterated], economic observer, political scientist, and former member of the leadership of the UN Economic Commission for Europe. In itself the market in its pure form is dangerous for the USSR just now, since it is capable of causing a very profoud socioeconomic crisis. It must, as is accepted in all developed countries, be combined with state regulation. Another valuable side of the government program is its exceptional attention to the social aspects of transition to the market. The USSR cannot permit itself the "Polish variant" of transition to an economy based on free competition, since the population will not agree to a further fall in its living standard. The Union government, to all appearances, understands that Soviet society has now reached the lower limits of an acceptable reduction in the living standard and that a further fall is impossible.

In my view, M. Faydzhen went on, the general debate in the USSR, primarily in the country's parliament, about approaches to economic reform and policy in general, have dragged on too long. Today decisive action and not talk is needed. The new does not always fit in with traditional concepts and existing juridical norms.

Of course, the most difficult moment is the first steps of the new economic program. Therefore the consequences of the transition to the market need to be forecast in the most careful manner. The experience of Roosevelt's reforms shows that if the possible results of one's actions are foreseen, the road will be as easy as it can be and, most importantly, negotiable.

Agricultural

Silayev Interviewed on State of Harvest

LD0310122890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Interview with Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, by Aleksandr Belotserkovets on 2 October; place not given; from the "Soyuz" program—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Belotserkovets] [passage omitted] Yesterday evening in the conference halls of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation, there was a meeting of the chairmen of all the executive committees of the rayons of the capital, the heads of Moscow Soviet and the agro-industrial committee. They discussed the measures that have to be taken urgently to save the harvest. I again spoke—naturally once this big council meeting had ended—to Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and asked him what it had been decided to do.

[Begin recording] [Silayev] We had a very good talk, and we did not just talk but we also agreed on our actions. Well, I think that is the last meeting, for there are only a few days left at the disposal of the peasants and townspeople. The cold weather is approaching, frosts are possible. The solution to the question of whether Moscow will have vegetables and potatoes or whether it will be seriously short depends on how both sides, the suppliers and the consumers, work at this stage. That is really what we were talking about: how to do everything to harvest and store potatoes and vegetables. I must say that this was really a continuation of my meetings on Sunday in Dmitrovskiy Rayon. Before this meeting we had managed to issue a decree of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers making tax-exempt the money earned by workers in harvesting vegetables.

[Belotserkovets] Until 31 October?

[Silayev] Yes, for September and October. This comes from our impressions and conversations with the workers: This issue was raised on Sunday and yesterday we not only made this decision but managed to announce it in the papers and television.

Addressing this meeting Comrade Ryzhkov said that by the decision of the executive committee, they had put the town of Moscow onto a state of emergency system. Perhaps this decision comes a bit late: Other areas adopted it a little earlier, but I think this is a very important decision, determining the final stage of the fight for vegetables. All the chairmen of the executive committees have been given unlimited powers connected with the solution of any questions directly or indirectly concerned with the procurement of vegetables and potatoes.

Of course, this did not happen without one side blaming the other, people complaining about each other. Of course one regrets this. This is a tribute to the past, as they say, but I had the impression today that everything has been settled. We started to talk again about what people need in connection with the lack of technology, the impossibility of using technology.

Some measures have been taken for extra townspeople to go out to harvest, but nevertheless we have turned to the Army again. Here I support the rural people. Soldiers are soldiers: the discipline, organization, the service and provisions and field conditions are similar to military ones, one can see.

[Belotserkovets] On Sunday we saw how excellently the soldiers were working.

[Silayev] Absolutely true.

[Belotserkovets] But the fields are difficult, very difficult....

[Silayev] Yes, we could hardly get there, and they were working there as well.

[Belotserkovets] Even in high boots we could hardly get there.

[Silayev] Yes, evidently this extra measure must also be implemented. I have just now finished talking to Comrade Yazov. The contingent of troops in the construction brigades has not been touched by harvest work. There are about 20,000 of them in Moscow Oblast. I asked Dmitriy Timofeyevich to dispatch all the builders to the harvest literally in hours. Well, Yazov did say, part of the builders are working on your own facilities; are they to be taken off too? I said yes, we have to stop for these 15-20 days even if this is work on facilities about to be commissioned. There is time in hand for that, but here the hours are running out.

So, one can say all the essential steps that could have been taken have been taken. Now good organization and a desperate fight is essential to save everything that is now in the ground.

[Belotserkovets] Ivan Stepanovich, when you spoke on our program two months ago you spoke of the introduction of Harvest-30 checks. On Sunday these checks came up again. Are they going to be given to those who take part in saving the harvest in Moscow Oblast, and when will the people who are working very well in the most difficult conditions be able to obtain goods?

[Silayev] When we came back from Dmitrov we issued the relevant instruction to Rospotrebsoyuz [Russian Consumer Union]—the marketing of imported goods goes through them—that the goods that are already there, and they do have goods worth several tens of millions of rubles, should be first and foremost urgently dispatched to their trading points in the rayons around Moscow and to other rayons connected with the harvesting of potatoes and vegetables. In just a few days the first such goods will appear.

The question arose: What are the vilagers to be offered? There is a certain range, but since this is, after all, the Moscow area, this is the powerful center, we agreed to offer radios, televisions and also some household goods like washing machines, and some items of clothing and shoes. So, already in October the first villagers who... [hesitates]

[Belotserkovets] Get these checks. Earn these checks.

[Silayev] ... earn these checks will be able to get the items they want. But that is only the beginning. The main bulk will be marketed beginning 1 January. There is a lot of it. You know, we feel that people are now interested in the checks.

[Belotserkovets] The last, most difficult question. Do you think we will manage to save the harvest in Moscow Oblast?

[Silayev] There will be some that is not harvested, because not only the cold weather, but also frosts are inexorably approaching. People are already saying that in the next few days there could be ground frosts of two or three degrees below zero. Even that is dangerous, and if there are two or three of them we will in effect be deprived of the chance of getting what remains after these possible frosts. I hope, however, we will manage to do everything that can be done.

CPSU's Stroyev Discusses Agriculture, Market

904B0001A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 29 Sep 90 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed TASS article under the rubric "In the Committees and Commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet": "Through the Prism of the Market"]

[Text] Villagers would remain villagers even in a city, even in the capital. They start working before everyone else and finish after everyone else. This was the case, at least, on the rainy evening of 27 September in the USSR Supreme Soviet building at 27 Kalinin Avenue. The Supreme Soviet committees and commissions were in session on that day and the last ones to claim their raincoats from the cloakroom were the deputies from the agrarian committee. They had spent that whole day in heated discussions of the agenda items. The central issue dealt with the peculiarities of market relations as applied to the agro-industrial complex.

We have already written about the deputies' opinions with respect to the agro-industrial complex chapter. They found it the least detailed of all of the market concept drafts that were presented for discussion at the session. For that reason the debate in the committee was more creative than analytical in its character and it only benefited from the fact that all of its participants were people really interested in the transfer of agriculture to new principles.

We asked one of the session participants, Ye.S. Stroyev, Politburo member, CPSU Central Committee secretary, and USSR People's Deputy, to share with us his opinion of the meeting.

He said that he considered the issue one of the most fundamental questions. The solution of this question will have major consequences, not so much for our generation, as for future generations. Moreover, today we determine future development for our peasantry—in a political and an economical sense, as well as in a moral sense, if you will. For that reason we have to consider all of the factors—the depth of discussions, the range of debate, and the scale of proposals. Only one thing is clear now: Everybody agrees with the need to transfer to a market economy. And that is the fundamental feeling that will allow us to find the ways and means to move ahead.

Ye.S. Stroyev noted that there were different points of view. Some people are still wondering if the market economy will ruin the collective farms [kolkhozes] and state farms [sovkhozes]. Some people, on the contrary, think that the market would mean nothing more than just peasants' own farms. Other people want to have market relations, but at the same time, they also want to preserve planned supplies of materials—in other words, to regulate everything as before, only call it a market. But the market is a delicate thing. There are two smart sides in it—the one that is selling and the one that is buying. To give a peasant equal rights in it we have to provide him with a certain freedom both in the policy of price formation and in the policy of supply deliveries. We should be fully prepared to balance things out in this way by using an economic mechanism.

On the same day a joint session of the Council of Nationalities Consumer Goods, Trade, and Municipal, Consumer and Other Services Commission and the USSR Committee of People's Control discussed the problem of supplying the people with consumer goods of vital importance.

"We want to examine the origin of goods shortages in detail and to decide what direction to follow, so that we do not 'derail' the industry during the transfer to the market relations," said Commission Chairman G. Kiselev to the TASS correspondent.

According to him, the session participants are trying to include the coming economic reforms in their debates. These reforms will present the country's consumer industries with the problems of removing the government from the production sphere, the necessity to make workers more interested in production improvement. The difficulties can already be seen. The employees are afraid to buy out or to lease their enterprises without a guarantee of raw material supplies. The importance of the "inertia" factor also should be taken into account. "Many people are not yet ready for market conditions from a purely psychological point of view," remarked the Commission Chairman.

City Residents Urged To Help Store Harvest

904B0001B Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by V. Kosmarskiy, senior scientist of All-Union Central Institute of Public Opinion, under the rubric "Public Opinion—Poll Results and a Commentary by a Sociologist": "Who Will Go Sort Vegetables"]

[Text] The emotions stirred by the request to city people to help harvest had barely subsided when a new problem appeared. This time it relates to vegetable storage facilities. We got used to hearing the phrase "work at a storage facility" before, but now it seems to have disappeared from our everyday vocabulary. The problems have not disappeared, however. Just as before, the storage facilities officials do not want to rely on their own resources, therefore, they insist that we cannot expect anything from them unless we provide help. On the other hand, enterprises that used to send their employees to the storage facilities are much less cooperative now. And, finally, what is most important—the people themselves do not want to correct somebody's mistakes and do somebody else's work.

One of the recent public opinion polls conducted by the All-Union Central Institute of Public Opinion dealt with the city dwellers' attitude towards work in vegetable storage facilities. It involved 1,100 people from 10 big and 11 average and small cities of Russia, Belorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Moldova, Azerbaijan, Kirgizia, and Turkmenia.

So, what did the poll show?

First of all, it showed that today city residents are even less willing to help at vegetable storage facilities than they are to go to a village to help with the harvest. One out of every four people polled said that neither he nor members of his family would agree to go help harvest in a village. But those who would not go work at a vegetable storage facility made up 34 percent of the total—almost one and half times more.

When asked if city people should, in principle, participate in gathering produce and in the work of storage facilities, the people gave answers that can be categorized in a similar manner. "Yes, of course, they should," said 25 percent of those polled to the first part of the question; the second part was answered positively only by 16 percent. "No, this is the work of those who are immediately involved in agriculture (or at storage facilities)," was the answer of 19 percent and 27 percent respectively. Besides, we should keep in mind that even when people support the idea of citizens' obligatory work at storage facilities, one out of every five categorically refuses to do it himself.

Such an attitude towards work at storage facilities exists in spite of the fact that only six percent of all polled consider that their city has better supplies of fruits and vegetables than last year and more than half of the people express quite the opposite opinion in this respect.

One should not think, definitely, that not a single city dweller wanted to work at the facilities at all. However, they view this work just as any other. Fifty percent of those polled thought that people should go work at the facilities only voluntarily, when there is a need to bring people from outside. About half of those who agree to work there want to be well paid for it; 45 percent of the people would agree to work there for the right to buy some of the produce at government or even lower prices. The "compensatory time" leave option that previously was used to partially compensate for the mandatory work is not popular any more. Only seven percent of the people would agree to work for "compensatory time".

So, it still seems possible to save this year's produce. But to ensure that it is the city authorities have to stop wasting time and start looking for ways to attract the work force, considering meanwhile the interests of the city people.

Scientific

Mir Cosmonaut Explains Crystal-Growing Project

PM0310133590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 29 Sep 90

[Report by P. Orlov; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The Progress M-5 cargo spacecraft docked with the Mir orbital complex today.

[Cosmonaut's voice] It is floating in nicely... God willing... [video shows Progress craft approaching]

[Reporter] The Mir station is flying above the forests, above the seas, and above the heads of the taxpayers, who are not exactly enraptured by this. This is how the station's camera perceives the approaching Progress M cargo craft, part of which will return to earth with freight. What freight? Gennadiy Strekalov has the details.

[Cosmonaut Strekalov, holding up capsule] This capsule contains gallium arsenide crystals in this [words indistinct].

[Reporter] Is the whole thing crystals?

[Strekalov] Yes, inside this very thin wrapper there are smelted finished crystals. Specialists on earth will unwrap and analyze them. We hope that they are large, high-grade crystals. They will be directly put to use, they will be used in new electronic circuits, and so forth. They are ready. They will be returned to earth in these containers. [video shows container] There are also other furnaces aboard the orbital complex. Specimens of this kind, of this size, will also be smelted. [video shows specimens] I would like to show you an example of a small failure of ours. This is one of the specimens that went wrong. However, specialists have worked out the reason, and we are hoping to continue our work in obtaining crystals. When it comes to technology, not everything always goes smoothly, you understand.

[Reporter] Weightlessness alone makes it possible to adjust and test the function of all the systems in the proper conditions.

[Strekalov] Weightlessness is simultaneously our enemy and a good ally. We could not obtain these crystals without weightlessness.

[Reporter] So why the hurry? Why transport these specimens now, without waiting for the end of the expedition? First, because for a long time now, it has been impossible to fit everything into one spacecraft. And second, because for many years the delay in processing space results has cost us a great deal of money.

I would like to mention one more thing. Something that has come to light today. The mere fact of admitting that something has gone wrong in space demands great courage on the part of the crew. Pure human courage, just like, incidentally, any other job in orbit.

Academics Question RSFSR Stance on Decree

907A0342A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

[Letter to the editor from Academicians A.P. Aleksandrov, V.I. Goldanskiy, A.Yu. Ishlinskiy, Ye.A. Kirillin, V.N. Kudryavtsev, and R.V. Petrov: "Should Science Be Free?"]

[Text] **In August of this year, the USSR president issued a ukase "On the Status of the USSR Academy of Sciences," which recognized the academy as an independent self-governing organization subject only to the law and its own statutes. The state property which the academy has used for many years was turned over to it.**

It seemed to us, as it did to many of our scientist friends, that we could only rejoice in this remarkable event. The academy, which was previously subject to the sovereign emperor and then to the Council of People's Commissars (Council of Ministers), had gained independence for the first time. From now on it would dispose of its own property and would decide on its own internal affairs. The state release of Union property and its transfer to the hands of the producers—whether material or intellectual property—had finally shown some visible signs.

But our joy was clouded by the position of certain—not many in number—individuals who took a negative attitude toward this document. And more. At the insistence of a number of deputies the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet declared that Article 2 of the ukase, which talks about transferring state property used by the academy to its ownership, was invalid on the territory of the republic.

What were the arguments against the ukase? The first and main one: "Some 300 academicians will have control of all the property"; moreover, they will divide it up among themselves and hand it down to their heirs (!). The only thing that can compare to how fantastic these assertions are is how legally unintelligent they are. The authors of these "arguments" apparently do not know that public is not private and that each of the academicians will certainly not become the owner of the academic property.

Who actually should be the owner of the academic property? When discussing this issue the presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences adopted a decision to delegate this right to the regional divisions of the academy, its institutes, and its laboratories, that is, to those who are conducting immediate scientific work and actually use this property. This will make it possible to use the property more efficiently for the needs of science without unnecessary intervention from the center. Only a small part of the property for general academic significance (large scientific installations and structures, libraries, museums, public health facilities, and so forth) will remain under the control of the academy as a whole and will be managed by its meeting. Thus the owner of all the property which is now being used by the institutes and regional branches will not be "300 academicians" but the entire large academic system.

The withdrawal of the state from ownership of Union property, of which the ukase of the USSR president is an example, is today's the real demand as we move toward the creation of a civil society. It is known that 92 percent of the property for production purposes in our country still belongs to the state (in other countries this figure is from six to 35 percent). Unless this property is transferred to the enterprises, cooperatives, and social organizations through ownership, leasing, or in other forms, it will be impossible to move toward the market. And this transfer is not just the personal wish of the USSR president. Let us recall that the USSR Supreme Soviet through its decree of 13 June 1990, "On the Concept of Changing Over to a Regulated Market Economy in the USSR," recommended that the president "issue ukases...on the withdrawal of state ownership and decentralization of property" (Article 5). The essence of the state's withdrawal from ownership consists in transferring the property of the USSR, the Union and autonomous republics, and other independent subjects. The bad thing is not that the property has been transferred to the academy, but that up to this point similar documents have not been issued with respect to many kinds of Union property. It is also known that voluntary transfer of property is an indispensable right of the owner. This is envisioned by the USSR law "On Property in the USSR" of 6 March 1990 and civil legislation that is in effect.

Deputies of the Russian parliament state that the USSR president's ukase violated the republic's sovereignty. This assertion is extremely questionable. In fact, the declaration of RSFSR state sovereignty proclaims the "exclusive right of the people to own, use, and dispose of the national wealth of Russia." But are the Academy of Sciences and its workers really not the people, not a part of them? And does the transfer of property belonging to the USSR to the ownership of institutes of the academy violate the rights of the people? It seems to us that this document strengthens them many times over. After all, the sovereignty of Russia is not violated by the circumstance, for example, that the USSR Union of Writers and other creative unions that have a considerable amount of their own property and operate on its territory.

Apparently the problem is that certain interpreters of the Russian declaration are confusing sovereignty and ownership. They cannot rid themselves of the old, administrative-command stereotypes according to which everything should belong to the state; if not the Union then the republic. And when the Union voluntarily lets go of its property and turns it over to those to whom it should belong—in this case the scientists—this brings them to an impasse. It is necessary to explain a fundamental truth: The most diverse kinds of property owners, beginning with the citizen and ending with the state (republic and Union), can and should function on the territory of any sovereign state. In this case the republic's sovereignty is expressed in that all of these property owners must obey the laws of the republic, including tax laws. But the republic does not have the right to intervene in civil-legal relations, to confiscate property, or proclaim itself the owner of someone else's property.

Apparently some people have just this intention. How else can one explain the irritation caused by the legal actions of the Union president? Let us recall that the property transferred to the academy was previously not republic property at all; it belonged to the Union. The declaration on RSFSR state sovereignty states that "the RSFSR recognizes and respects the sovereign rights of the Union republics and the USSR." The decision of the parliament of the Russian Federation definitely does not comply with this point of the declaration. They simply did not consider the right of the USSR (and now the USSR Academy of Sciences) to own property. All this is regrettable, especially if one takes into account our common desire to strengthen law and order in the country and for at least the basis of a democratic civil society and a rule-of-law state.

Although they declared Article 2 of the USSR president's ukase to be invalid on the territory of the republic, the parliamentarians were kind enough not to say anything about its other articles. As a result, it turns out that the Academy of Sciences is supposed to be autonomous, but it has no property; independent, but it is bound hand and foot by the decision of the republic parliament. We consider this decision of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet to be illegal intervention in the affairs of the Academy of Sciences, essentially an attempt to use command-administrative methods to subordinate the scientific community.

Military

Last Baltic Nuclear Missile Sub Decommissioned

LD0310234990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2200 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] A report from the double-Red-Banner-holding Baltic Fleet: Captain First Rank Nekrasov was the last to leave his vessel after lowering the naval flag on it. From that moment the diesel submarine bearing the number 467 which used to carry a complex of ballistic missiles is considered to have been removed from the USSR's Navy. This submarine was the last one in the Baltic capable of carrying nuclear weapons.

Thus, the promise by the Soviet leadership to eliminate nuclear weapons carriers in this maritime area has been fulfilled. The promise was given by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev last autumn in Helsinki.

The naval submarine has been disarmed, the crew disbanded and the naval flag of the vessel, which maintained its watch in the world oceans for 30 years, will take its honored place in a museum.

KGB Ship To Traverse Suez, Red Sea to Pacific

LD0310164690 Moscow TASS in English 1548 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow October 3 TASS—According to a report from the KGB chief administration of border troops, the border guard ship Kedrov sailed out of the Sevastopol port on September 27 and will make a voyage from the Black Sea to the Pacific Ocean in the Period between October and November. The vessel will pass through the Suez Canal and the Red Sea. The KGB public relations centre says that the ship will guard the Soviet economic zone in the Pacific region. The ship does not plan to call and stay in the Gulf zone.

Council of Ministers Issues Fall Draft Notice

PM0310153190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Sep 90 First Edition p 1

[USSR Council of Ministers Resolution No. 961 issued in the Kremlin, Moscow on 25 September 1990: "On the Discharge to the Reserve From the Ranks of the USSR Armed Forces, and Border, Internal, and Railway Troops, of Servicemen who Have Completed the Prescribed Period of Active Military Service and on the Next Draft of Citizens to Active Military Service in October-December 1990"]

[Text] In fulfillment of the USSR Law "On Universal Military Service," the USSR Council of Ministers **resolves**:

1. That draftees who have completed the prescribed period of active military service be discharged from the ranks of the USSR Armed Forces, and border, internal, and railway troops to the reserve in October-December 1990.

2. That male citizens aged 18 years by the date of the draft and without the right to draft deferment, as well as citizens above draft age whose right to draft deferment has expired, be drafted to compulsory active military service in the USSR Armed Forces and border, internal, and railway troops in October-December 1990.

[Signed] N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

M. Shkabardnya, administrator of affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers

Su-27 Interceptor Aircraft Demonstrated at Airshow

PM0310104190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0900 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Report from Le Bourget Air Show; from the "Television News Service" newscast]

[Text] At Le Bourget, France, the 38th Aerospace Show has been held. Well-known U.S., French, and FRG firms displayed their most interesting aircraft. The Soviet Union exhibited 12 aircraft models. The arrival in France of the Su-27 fighter-interceptors, developed by the Sukhoy design bureau, which had never before left the Soviet Union, generated great interest. The supermaneuverability of the machine immediately became the talk among experts. The Su-27's performance impressed everyone, when the 22-tonne machine, taking to the air, carried out the aerobatic maneuver known as "dynamic braking" [video shows maneuver]. No other interceptor program contained this element. This is because no other interceptor is capable of performing it. Another widely discussed topic was the ability of the Su-27 to maintain its maneuverability with an angle of attack twice that of the best Western models.

The "Gulfstream IV" aircraft, a special commercial version built by the U.S. Gulfstream Aerospace Corporation, was also on show at Le Bourget. This corporation's aircraft are well-known throughout the world. They are used as maritime patrol and rescue aircraft and are part of the U.S. Air Force arsenal. The company carries out NASA scientific research project special orders.

It was in Paris that representatives of the U.S. Gulfstream Aerospace Corporation and the Sukhoy design bureau came up with the idea of carrying out a joint project in the development, manufacture, and marketing of a supersonic business aircraft. Allen Paulson, president of Gulfstream Aerospace, and Aleksandr Blinov, deputy general designer, [video shows Paulson alighting from aircraft] discussed the possibility of the joint development of a jet aircraft during talks in Moscow. The estimated cost of the aircraft is $50 million. The commercial aircraft will be able to carry 12-15 passengers at Mach 2 speeds on nonstop flights between Moscow and Washington. This is a blueprint for the future supersonic aircraft, elaborated by the Gulfstream Corporation. It appears that in the final version an engine offered by the Soviet Union will be used. The first models of the aircraft will be fitted with the same engine as the Su-27. In the longer term it is planned that the engines for the joint project will be supplied by Rolls Royce.

Defense Ministry on Servicemen's Housing Program

PM0310154390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview by own correspondent V. Litovkin under the heading "7.8 Billion Marks Allocated by FRG Government in Connection with Soviet Troop Withdrawal. Colonel General N. Gryaznov, Chief of the USSR Defense Ministry Main Billeting and Maintenance Directorate, Talks to Our Correspondent About Where and How It Is Planned To Spend This Money"—date and place of not given]

[Text] [Gryaznov] I would immediately like to point out that this money is not only going to be used to build new housing in the Soviet Union but will also go toward the cost of united Germany's participation in providing the infrastructure for the Soviet troop withdrawal and maintaining our Group through 1994. Experts have roughly estimated—although this is yet to be confirmed—that our housing there is worth several tens of billions of rubles.

It is planned to build new housing for the families of the Group's officers and warrant officers—and there are 63,000 without an apartment in the Soviet Union, plus 13,000 unmarried officers—in the territory of eight military districts: the Kiev, Belorussian, Odessa, Carpathian, Moscow, North Caucasus, Volga-Ural, and Turkestan military districts. It is planned to involve foreign firms and enterprises. Workers from united Germany will mainly work on the construction projects, and probably also Yugoslav and Turkish construction workers, who have an excellent reputation in our country—this is being negotiated. Other options are also possible.

The housing plans have yet to be approved. They are in the process of being studied. They will be ready by November. But it is already known that they will be a combination of German and Soviet plans. Talks are under way with the leadership of the republics, regions, and oblasts concerned about making land available for the new construction, coordinating budgetary and technical documentation, and linking this housing to heat and gas supplies, water mains, and sewerage networks.

We hope to have everything agreed by 1 December. Our plans have been well received everywhere, particularly in the Ukraine, Belorussia, and the Volga region.

The fact is that the hard currency allocated to us will be used in these regions to build housing construction combines—four are planned—and brickyards and also to improve and replace production lines at existing plants. It is planned to do all this with Western materials and foreign technology. This, in turn, will require the construction—also on the basis of foreign design and technology—of furniture factories and combines for the manufacture of wood-particle board, carpentry items, metal structures, sanitary ware, and everything else needed in construction.

[Litovkin] You mentioned foreign workers, but why can you not use military construction workers on these projects? There is a USSR Supreme Soviet decision which says that the overwhelming majority of these construction workers will be removed from the jurisdiction of various departments and placed under the Defense Ministry's jurisdiction on 1 January 1991.

[Gryaznov] Military construction workers are going to be working on the program to provide other servicemen with housing. These figures are often given out in the press. Despite the growing scale of housing construction, there are more than 173,000 servicemen without apartments—and this number will increase by a further 25,000 as our troops are withdrawn from Czechoslovakia and Hungary. There are currently 10,500 waiting for apartments in Moscow alone, but the Moscow Soviet has only allocated us 560 square meters of housing in the first nine months of this year instead of the requested 65,000 square meters. Unfortunately, 560 square meters only gives us 16 apartments.

We are resolving our problems by increasing the volume of construction. The plan for commissioning housing for the USSR Defense Ministry as a whole has been met by 100.8 percent this year. It is planned to commission 24 million square meters of housing in the 13th five-year plan period. That is equivalent to 436,000 apartments, which is 24 percent more than in the last five-year plan period. This figure includes 1.5 million square meters (25,000 apartments) for troops being withdrawn from the Central Group of Forces and Southern Group of Forces. A total of 19 million square meters will be built by military construction workers and 5 million square meters by contract organizations of union republics and construction ministries with the participation of the USSR Defense Ministry, i.e. using our money and our construction materials.

The solution of the housing problem could be helped by local soviets eliminating their housing arrears to the Defense Ministry in 1990-1991; their arrears amount to approximately 1.26 million square meters, or 24,500 apartments.

[Litovkin] And the last question, Nikolay Viktorovich. How is the situation with providing housing for the families of servicemen already withdrawn from Hungary and Czechoslovakia?

[Gryaznov] Not bad. Construction is under way in all regions. It is being provided with everything it needs. Military construction workers and servicemen from units already withdrawn are taking part.

No family of any officer or warrant officer returning home from Hungary or Czechoslovakia will be left without a roof over its head this winter.

Fall Draft Plans Cause Concern in Volga-Urals

PM0310151690 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Oct 90 First Edition p 1

[TASS report incorporating interview with Lieutenant General B. Tarasov, chief of the Volga-Urals Military District Political Directorate, by TASS correspondent Ye. Tkachenko; date and place not given: "Doing More Work With Young People"]

[Text] The leaders of districts and fleets are holding meetings with draftees' parents, activists of women's councils, party and soviet workers, and working people at enterprises in connection with the fall draft of young people which has started. Frank and honest talk about the problems of the draft and truthful information about army life will help bring the interests of the army and the people closer together. Lieutenant General B. Tarasov, chief of the Volga-Urals Military District Political Directorate, talks about this to TASS correspondent Ye. Tkachenko.

[Tarasov] "The Urals has always provided a good draft of new conscripts into the Soviet Army. However, preparation for the upcoming fall draft does alarm us. According to Chelyabinsk Oblast Military Commissariat figures, 159 young people from the Urals refused the military service draft last year. During this year's spring draft 47 refused [as published]. This is an alarming symptom, as is the fact that some parents are hiding their children and asking medical workers to issue all kinds of bogus service exemptions and that draftees are feigning various disorders.

"It is, of course, necessary to examine each specific case in detail. But those young people who have no grounds for deferment of service or exemption must not be allowed to get off unpunished. Unfortunately, the courts and prosecutor's office are conducting these cases timidly and are not ensuring the law is executed. Attacks by some of the mass media on the army are intensifying and public movements are mobilizing. All this is having a noticeable effect upon army discipline and people's feelings.

"We share the feelings of mothers whose sons die in the army during peacetime. We are taking measures to prevent such cases. But, after all, young men die not only in the performance of duty but from their own lack of discipline related to drunkenness and the unruliness of the soldiers themselves. The roots of these negative phenomena mostly need to be sought in prearmy life. Work with youngsters even before the draft has to be stepped up."

Kalmyk Poet Defends Military Service

PM0310142490 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Sep 90 First Edition p 1

[Interview with David Kugultinov, people's poet of Kalmykia and USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, by Lieutenant Colonel N. Astashkin in Elista; date not given: "I Have Been Reading KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Since I Was Young"]

[Excerpts] I met with D. Kugultinov, people's poet of Kalmykia and USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, in Elista during the celebration of the 550th anniversary of the national epic "Dzhangar." When David Nikitich found out that the person in front of him works for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, he immediately told me: "I have been reading it since I was young." Our conversation began with this remark. [passage omitted]

[Astashkin] David Nikitich, the army has recently been blamed for all kinds of mortal sins. What is your position on this score?

[Kugultinov] I believe that all this stems from a lack of understanding of the army's basic functions. What is it needed for? In order to protect the country's security. Sometimes I am surprised when I see some mothers shouting—with the best motives, of course—that they will not let their sons do military service. They say that people die in the army. What can I say to this? Of course, military service carries a risk. That is what the army is for. A military man is obliged to carry out his duty at any price, even at the price of his own life. Otherwise he is a traitor. But at the same time it is important that the risk be justified by a high aim and not caused by an individual's thoughtlessness or inept leadership.

[Astashkin] Another question in this connection. What is your attitude to people who run away from the army?

[Kugultinov] These people are deserters and they must be tried by a military tribunal. Some people may object and say a writer shouldn't talk like that. But I am also a citizen. And that is my civil position.

[Astashkin] And last, David Nikitich. What would you like to wish the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA collective?

[Kugultinov] I would hope that you will always keep pace with the times. That all your intentions will always be aimed at strengthening the army's combat readiness. I hope that the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA collective's creative thought always meets with the readers' keen interest. For this purpose, it is necessary to discard all the cliches and stereotypes of the old thinking and think boldly, decide boldly, and boldly ask the most probing questions.

Baltic Republics

Estonia's Ruutel Addresses Helsinki Group

90UN2895A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 4 Sep 90 p 2

["Estonia's Prospects—From the Report by Arnold Ruutel at the Paasikivi Society in Helsinki on 24 August 1990"]

[Text] A. Ruutel preceded his speech with the following words: "I will permit myself to also express thoughts which cannot be considered the conclusive and official viewpoint of the Republic of Estonia."

And added specifically: "Under the canopy of fine slogans about friendship of the peoples many relations, purely human primarily, which had existed a long time were in practice severed. As a result of this policy the process of liberation of the peoples of Central and East Europe is occurring, unfortunately in quite isolated fashion in each individual country, and they are supporting one another rarely and inadequately."

The fate of Estonia is not only a problem of the relations between the Republic of Estonia and the Soviet Union, it is further part of the legacy of World War II. Of the states which lost their independence at that time, only three—Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—are forced today to struggle even for the restoration of historical justice.

Annexed Estonia has for half a century been merely a province called a Union republic.

Its land and people have sustained irreparable losses. On the eve of the events of 1940 our social life and our level of development of production, science, and culture were in all parameters comparable with neighboring Scandinavia. And now, even given the full release of all productive and creative forces, it will take us decades to overcome the gap. However, the Estonian people carried the idea of their own statehood in their hearts through the most difficult times.

Elections and the Soviet Army

The will of the Estonian people was clearly expressed during the elections last December and this March—initially to the local authorities, then to the Supreme Soviet. In their election platforms the vast majority of candidates for deputy advanced a clear goal—restoration of the independence of the Republic of Estonia.

It would be wrong to remain silent about the fact that these elections were held in the presence of the USSR Armed Forces on Estonian territory. Nonetheless, there is every reason to maintain that both the Supreme Soviet and the local authorities have a sufficiently high degree of legitimacy. Proceeding from the recent law on citizenship of the Republic of Estonia, representation of the citizens of the Republic of Estonia—the Estonian Congress—was elected in February-March of this year. It began to advocate the recreation of a sovereign state based on the principles of succession.

The Estonian people's struggle for sovereignty rose to a new level in the period when regimes implanted with the participation of the USSR collapsed in the East and Central European countries. As distinct from 1956 and 1968, the Soviet Union did not employ military force to suppress the popular expression of will.

Thus in 1989 a substantial part of Europe approached in its development the line beyond which the old structures of administration were no longer capable of functioning. At the same time, on the other hand, the peoples turned to proven democratic means—in other words they began to return to the highway of social development from which they had for decades been removed by force.

The Baltic States Against Perestroyka?

Attempts have been made at times to counterpose the actions of the Baltic states to perestroyka, the course of events having been portrayed to seem as though they threaten its development. In actual fact, we are operating with the same ideas which are becoming rooted in the international arena with the most active participation of Mikhail Gorbachev. The withdrawal of the Soviet Armed Forces from a number of countries is logically linked with our aspiration to see an end to the occupation of Estonia. And the desire to solve one after the other the problems causing international tension will not disappear with the restoration of Germany if all the remaining focal points of it are preserved. I have also heard the idea that it should first be Germany and a certain stabilization in Central Europe, and then it could be a question of the freedom of the Baltic peoples. But it is impossible to arrange the will of the peoples in order of size, first one then another. Political issues mature at a certain time, a procrastination is fraught with dangerous complications.

Estonia Has No Wish To Remain in the Past

Through ordeals human society is embarking upon a new phase, when in relations between peoples the possibilities of the forcible attainment of one's ends, the diktat of large over small, and the suppression of the rights of other peoples, including the sacred right to self-determination, are narrowing. It should be emphasized simultaneously that objective integration processes, a most essential condition of which are absolute state sovereignty and free will, are under way also. And Estonia aspires to the restoration of its own statehood by no means to occupy the place of a recluse thinking in the social categories of a past age, but in order to participate fully in the erection of the common European home. The security of small states depends particularly heavily on stable international relations. A sovereign Estonia, in our opinion, would be one further component in the group of neutral states outside of all blocs whose contribution is becoming increasingly noticeable in the Helsinki process.

Military Balance

Since such turbulent processes began in East and Central Europe the question of the preservation of a balance of forces has been heard constantly. The strategic balance in Europe and the world, based on the confrontation of the armed forces of the great powers, has been a stabilizing factor in international relations. However there has always been an alternative to this factor which it has not been possible to realize. After all, instead of military parity, security may be assured also by a system of political means whereby the necessary agreements are supplemented by close international business cooperation and mutual confidence in the invariability of the partners' positions. The latter is possible given developed democracy. Such a Europe and such a world should be built on the principles of equality, and there can be no room for centers of tension here. To return to military questions directly however, it is indeed logical, considering the present situation in Europe, that military aspects connected with the Baltic states' acquisition of sovereignty be reflected in the negotiations of the big states so that all the changes can be balanced. At the same time, however, the military confrontation of these countries should not prevent a solution of the Baltic problem.

Official Status of the Republic of Estonia

In light of the impetuous changes occurring in Central and East Europe, our Supreme Soviet deemed it necessary to adopt on 30 March of this year a declaration on the official status of Estonia. To many people it seemed insufficiently radical, particularly when compared with the Lithuanian declaration on independence adopted a week earlier. Nonetheless, this document reflects the path corresponding precisely to our conditions. The Supreme Soviet confirmed that the Soviet Union's occupation of Estonia on 17 June 1940 did not end the existence of the Republic of Estonia de jure. The state authority of the USSR on the territory of Estonia was recognized as illegal from the moment it was established. The Supreme Soviet announced a transition period, which will end in the formation of constitutional bodies of state authority of the Republic of Estonia.

A possible interpretation of our official status is as follows: On 30 March Estonia withdrew from the political system of the Soviet Union. In the transition period this decision will be infused with content. The Union laws employed on our territory will become increasingly few, and Estonia will begin to create its own independent state mechanism. It is already a question of compiling temporary regulations to govern a legitimate State Duma of the Republic of Estonia. Some things have been done also in the field of elaborating a draft new constitution. Our position differs markedly from the situation in the Central European countries, where the direct mechanism of Soviet annexation did not exist.

We have opted for means of struggle making it possible at each stage to achieve as extensive democracy and legality as is possible. At first sight this is illogical—a revolutionary change and assurance of legality. But under Estonia's conditions this is the sole possible combination. As an argument it is sufficient if only to recall that Russians and representatives of other nationalities, who constitute 39 percent of the population, live alongside Estonians.

Economic Dependence

A most complex and urgent task of the transition period is the creation of our own economic and social life-support mechanisms. In parallel we have to solve questions of overcoming the lag. Estonia is dependent on imports from the USSR of basic types of raw material, metal, and many other commodities. Their acquisition in any other way would require big resources in convertible currency. We would have currency only in the event of an increase in Estonian exports, competitive on the world market what is more. Therefore a transition period, like continued stable economic relations with the East also, is for us a vital necessity. Unfortunately, we are encountering here on the one hand the results of the constantly intensifying crisis of the Union's economic system and disruptions in imported contract supplies, and on the other the undisguised endeavor of the Union departments to complicate any step of ours aimed at economic independence. The latter is being manifested both in solving the question of the transfer to the republic's jurisdiction of Union enterprises directly subordinate to Moscow and in banking where Moscow has put Estonian firms in a particularly difficult position at the time of the organization of payments.

There has been a sharp intensification of economic and social problems in recent months. The danger of a split on these grounds in the different public forces championing Estonia's sovereignty has increased. There are in the republic also organizations advocating the retention of Estonia within the USSR. They are trying to impress upon people, Estonians primarily, the idea that all the troubles stem from the aspiration to independence. They have engaged in strikes and other actions complicating the movement toward sovereignty.

We are confronted simultaneously with two difficult tasks: The struggle for the restoration of our own statehood and the preservation of stable cooperation. The fact that in other Union republics also there is a growing aspiration to be masters in their own home will help us emerge from so contradictory a position. This latter fact is particularly noticeable in respect of the use of natural resources. The opportunities of the Union ministries to command enterprises are narrowing also. Interest in direct relations is growing. The Estonian Government is developing contacts with business circles in the Union republics and sponsoring various meetings. In turn, mention should be made of the negotiations with Russia which were bolstered by the meeting of representatives of the Supreme Soviets of the three Baltic states and the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic on 27 July in Yurmala. An important role is assigned the development of a single Baltic market, for tackling tasks will be easier as a trio. Our common potential, incidentally, is comparable with that of Sweden even.

Freeing Ourselves From the Soviet Model of Socialism

The creation of our own economic and social life simultaneously means for us liberation from the Soviet model of socialism which was imposed on us and which has proven nonviable. In the period of transition to the market economy we must mitigate the inevitable social upheavals. It is believed in Estonia that transformation of the economy will take seven or eight years, whence the need for the elaboration of a strategy for the next decade. A condition of this is business contracts with regard for the vitally important interests of Estonia and the Union for this period. They could arise on the basis of temporary agreements at first. I could be asked of what the Union's interests consist. I would recall if only the fact that there are on Estonian territory many enterprises manufacturing output which is not supplied in the Union by anyone else. Building or finding suppliers of products in other countries is not always possible or profitable.

It was repeatedly made clear to us at the Moscow meetings that any discussion could take place only on the basis of the Law on Secession from the USSR enacted on 3 April. However, in the case of Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia it is a question not of territories which voluntarily united with the Union but of occupied states in which connection deciding these problems in accordance with the laws of an occupying state is inconceivable. I hear frequently that a process of national self-determination is under way in Estonia. This is not so. Estonia's self-determination occurred in 1918, and there is no need for us to repeat ourselves.

For quite some time Moscow officials had been demanding that we annul the decisions adopted on 30 March. At the same time, however, the greatest strain had been reached in relations between Moscow and Lithuania. In the situation which had taken shape the need emerged for questions of the three separate Baltic states to develop into a common problem of the Baltic region. A meeting of the leaders of the three republics was held on our initiative on 12 May in Tallinn. A Council of Baltic States, which is operating actively in both a western and eastern direction, was formed. The council once again confirmed its desire to meet with the USSR leadership on 6 June in Yurmala. Such a meeting between the chairmen of the Supreme Soviets of the three republics and the president and head of the USSR Government took place on 12 June, and a partnership—the USSR on the one hand and the three states demanding the restoration of their independence on the other—was thereby recognized. As a prior condition for the negotiations Moscow even agreed to the substitution of suspension for the reversal of the decision on independence.

From a whole number of indications it could be concluded that a large part of the people of Estonia object both to the reversal and the freezing of the adopted decisions. Lithuania's readiness for a 100-day moratorium on the independence decision was seen in Estonia as a measure adopted by its Supreme Soviet under the pressure of particular conditions, including stiff economic sanctions, which are different from ours.

In the subsequent period there were appreciable changes both in the Union authorities and in Russia and the other Union republics. The strengthening of the positions of the democratic forces and political instability in various regions of the Union definitely forced the Kremlin to reconsider its tactics in respect of the Baltic question. I would add to this the program of Germany's reunification, which has taken distinct shape as of this moment. Under the changed conditions we deemed it necessary to break the stagnation in relations with Moscow, operating simultaneously on two levels—developing relations with the new leadership of Russia and continuing the search for new contacts with the central authorities. As a result the Union leadership confirmed on the eve of the meeting of the four in Yurmala that we should appoint a delegation and determine a platform for negotiations, although the question remained of how serious the shift that had occurred in Moscow was.

Our points of departure at the negotiations were determined by the Supreme Soviet which on 7 August adopted a decree on relations with the Soviet Union. It unswervingly envisages restoration of the sovereignty of the Republic of Estonia. We do not agree to subscribe to any Union treaty whatever or any act which incorporates us in the USSR.

Referendum and Human Rights

We hear repeatedly from officials in the USSR, and also from organizations on the territory of Estonia, uniting predominantly the Russian-speaking population the demand for a referendum on Estonia's future with the participation of the whole permanently resident population. However, in 1940 Estonia's position was altered forcibly, not by public ballot.

Attempts have also been made repeatedly to impute to us blame for a violation of human rights. We agree at any moment to receive an authoritative UN commission for familiarization with the actual position. This would most likely assist our speediest inclusion in this world organization.

How To Begin Negotiations?

In our view, it makes sense to begin the negotiations with a preparatory stage, at which the present state of relations, the aim of the negotiations—restoration of the statehood of the Republic of Estonia—and matters of protocol are recorded in writing. It was such a proposal that our delegation took to Moscow on 23 August. The result of the negotiations could be, in our view, a political and legal treaty, and as a supplement agreements pertaining to various walks of life concluded immediately or at subsequent negotiations. For example, it is understandable that the question of the stationing in Estonia of the Union's Armed Forces should be decided immediately and recorded in a document on mutual relations. Separating the conclusion of the main treaty and the solutions of certain basic economic questions and also problems of the status of USSR citizens and so forth is evidently impossible.

The Army

A basic issue of the negotiations is Estonia's withdrawal from the USSR Armed Forces. In Central Europe this process has already begun on the basis of agreements. Naturally, it is closely connected with the easing of the military confrontation in Europe as a whole. For this reason we believe that a withdrawal of forces could take place in stages. We need first and foremost to precisely determine the number of military bases and their dimensions and operating conditions. Estonia insists primarily on the withdrawal of subunits with nuclear arms and also assurances that they will not be reintroduced in the future. Offensive forces, and subsequently defensive forces, should then be withdrawn. Estonia's goal is a neutral, nuclear-free state. Consequently there should be on our territory no Union Armed Forces and no foreign military bases as is now the case in Finland and Sweden. We believe that western countries could take reciprocal steps to facilitate this relocation of the Soviet Armed Forces.

We are and will remain convinced supporters of the creation in North Europe of a nuclear-free zone. Surely there is no need to explain why we demand the immediate termination of our young men's compulsory service in the USSR Armed Forces.

Arguments have also arisen over the size of the armed forces of the Republic of Estonia. The northern countries have found a solution to this problem, and evidently ours will coincide with it to a large extent but will take account, of course, of our specific features and economic possibilities. Military installations and the necessary Soviet arms suitable for this purpose could remain at the disposal of the Estonian armed forces as compensation for the amounts which have been deducted from our budget to maintain the Army all these years.

The Border

Work is being performed currently in Estonia and the other Baltic states on the introduction of a system of border control. Estonia's borders should be open, but strict control of the transit of people and freight is needed.

Citizenship

A serious list of questions is connected with citizenship, particularly in respect of citizens of the USSR living in Estonia. There is every reason to believe that their numbers, initially at least, will be substantial. Arrangements with the Union on various social matters, the political rights of USSR citizens permanently resident in our republic, and so forth are therefore essential. Their participation in elections on particular terms to the local authorities remains arguable, but it is absolutely precluded in the elections of the supreme state authorities.

Property

Economic problems, including questions of the property of enterprises under Union jurisdiction, will also prove difficult for the negotiations in all likelihood. But they can be solved. The more so if the Tartu Peace Treaty is taken as an example. Resources obtained in Estonia are used in the creation of facilities throughout the Union. The issue of property, therefore, has two sides. Negotiations on Estonia's share of the gold reserves and foreign debt of the Union, and the amounts which other states owe the USSR, will proceed with difficulty. The question of compensation for losses in the years of Estonia's occupation is a special one. But we clearly understand that restoration of our statehood must not be held up because of endless economic altercations.

Estonia and the West

The course of our struggle has been influenced of course by the positions of public organizations, parliaments, and governments of many countries. Opinions to the effect that the governments of Western countries have behaved with great restraint have been expressed from time to time. I believe that those who have maintained this have forgotten about the sequence: public, organizations, government. It is perfectly clear that public organizations and parties react more emotionally, at the human relations level. This attitude rises through them to a higher level of public representation, and only in the final instance to the government. It is for this reason that we have recently been paying much attention to the establishment of relations with the world community at large and its familiarization with our views. Our newborn parties are establishing a network of contacts with their ideological associates. The first serious ties have been established at parliamentary level also. I would like to particularly mention Finland and Sweden here.

The development of our relations with various countries has depended on a multitude of factors. A kind of outline of forward progress in this sphere has taken shape. We have progressed furthest in relations with the North European countries. Relations with states of Central Europe are being established rapidly and on entirely new foundations. Contacts with West Europe and North America have become more substantive. We have as yet to develop our model of relations with the developing countries.

(The report is carried with certain abridgments based on the publication in the newspaper PAEVALEHT)

FROM THE EDITORS:

We consider it necessary to say a few words about the publication in SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA of A. Ruutel's speech at the meeting of the Paasikivi Society inasmuch as we can foresee that certain propositions of his paper could give rise to misunderstanding among some readers of the newspaper, or even active protest.

Although we have in recent years come far in the ascertainment of the historical truth and an analysis of political realities, the former stereotypes are still alive to a large extent, and the purging of Stalinism which has dragged on over the decades is still not complete. The new society to which we all aspire cannot be built on an old foundation, on the diktat of force. We can no longer live as we have lived. We need to clear away the accumulations of lies and learn to call things by their name, however bitter this might initially seem for some people. Only thus is it possible to reach mutual understanding and respect and build civilized relations between people and peoples. It is our duty to leave for future generations a different world worthy of man and spare him fear and humiliation, which have for too long been for us life's constant attendants.

Each people, large or small, has an inalienable right to independence. If this proposition is taken as axiomatic—and thinking otherwise today is simply politically impossible—not one of the paper's propositions should, most likely, seem seditious.

Progress of Estonia-RSFSR Talks Reviewed

LD0310110290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2150 GMT 2 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn, 2 Oct (TASS)—Information was provided at a closed session of the Estonian Supreme Soviet today on the progress of talks with the Russian Federation. The deputies familiarized themselves with a draft treaty which it is planned Estonia and Russia will sign in the future.

Deputy Anatoliy Novokhatskiy signed a statement on behalf of the deputies' groups "For Equal Rights," "Communist Faction," "Virumaa," and "Community." It says that the status of the negotiating republics, relations among them, and the demarcation of the competence of the republics and the Union will be resolved in a new Union treaty and new USSR Constitution, in the elaboration of which the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] is also taking part. For this reason, the statement says, the RSFSR has no reason to hurry to conclude a treaty with Estonia before the signing of a new Union treaty.

The statement also points out that the draft treaty makes reference to acts which have no legal force with regard to Estonia, and in a number of articles the interests of third republics and the USSR are touched upon, which also should not be a subject for the treaty in question.

The members of these four parliamentary factions, representing in the main Estonia's Russian-speaking population, urged the RSFSR Supreme Soviet to refuse to sign this treaty with Estonia until the status of Estonia is actually changed and the law on secession from the USSR comes into force. The statement also points to the disparity between a number of provisions of the draft in question and legal norms, including the international pact on civil and political rights, according to which it is the people that are recognized as the subject of the right to self-determination. The current Estonian authorities, the statement notes, do not grant recognition of this right to the whole of the multinational population of the republic but exclusively to the ethnic Estonian section of the people.

The meeting of the session went into recess after the statement was read out. No announcement was made as to when the Supreme Soviet will gather to discuss this problem again.

'Katseliit' Ridiculed for Recruiting Gulf Forces

PM0310134790 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 2 Oct 90 p 1

[Report by correspondent G. Sapozhnikova: "Bad News for Saddam Husayn"]

[Text] Tallinn—At the beginning of September, the Estonian public organization "Kaitseliit" ("Defense Union") tried to resolve the issue of the economic and political border in its own way by setting up "musketeer" [samopalnyy] border posts on the territory of Leningrad Oblast. It turned out that they were out of line; everyone condemned them at the time, even the Estonian government. "Kaitseliit" decided to win popularity in another way, by announcing the enrollment of volunteers for the international peacekeeping forces which will defend the freedom of Kuwait. Naturally the local papers "stamped" on this initiative as much as they could. For example, the local youth newspaper printed a cartoon: A man in an Iraqi Army uniform reports to Saddam Husayn: "Al-Sa'lam 'Alaykum, Mr. President. Very bad news—in addition to the 100,000-strong U.S. military group, the commander in chief of 'Kaitseliit' is sending volunteers from Estonia to liberate Kuwait."

But some inhabitants of Estonia treated this appeal completely seriously. As of today 160 people have enlisted as volunteers. At the registration headquarters a nice girl, Rutt, and a nice boy, Arvi, neatly enter into ruled exercise books addresses, birth dates, knowledge of languages, and citizenship. One kid clutches his head: "But I have not been registered for Estonian citizenship yet!" They nod to him kindly: "Never mind, you will be OK." Others are told: "We will call you to appear before the medical commission," and are asked not to quit their jobs for the time being. At this point the telephone rings. Arvi lifts the receiver: "What is that? You have served in the Navy? No, we are not registering sailors; it is desert out there, you see...."

I had a chat with some volunteers. Many see this above all as an opportunity to earn hard currency. But Arvi and Rutt disconcert these narrow-minded individuals: "You serve for free with us!"

I was also struck by the volunteers' answers to the apparently straightforward question: "What do you think: Who will be paying for your residence in Kuwait, your travel, and your service?" There were several versions: the Estonian Republic, a Swiss bank, the United States, the USSR, some kind of financial coalition. Kaple Eller, leader of "Kaitseliit" and the direct organizer of the campaign, did not throw any light on the matter either. He only hinted that Estonia is an extremely poor country, permitted me to travel to the training camp, and informed me that the Estonian committee was holding talks either with Kuwait, Iraq, or the United Nations about the direct transfer of Estonian freedom fighters to the Persian Gulf—at the highest level.

Estonian Government Doubles Price of Bread

LD0310124690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1050 GMT 3 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn, 3 October (TASS)—The Estonian Government has decided to double the retail price of bread. This measure will help reduce the planned new butter price which will be seven rubles [R] per kilogram as of 15 October.

If Estonia maintains the levels introduced in response to the increase in consumer demand—100 grams of butter per person per week—then the reduction in the planned butter price will be of no benefit to the consumer. Virtually all savings will be used to cover the extra cost of bread.

It is known that all meat and dairy products will become several times dearer in Estonia as of 15 October. It has been promised that there will be a scale of meat prices depending on variety. So a kilo of beef may cost between R1 and R10. However, neither the meat combines nor traders are ready to make the switch to the new prices.

The new retail prices which are being introduced are not excessive and in the opinion of Juhan Telgmaa they may go up by another third by the end of the year. The reason is that even the higher prices which are being proposed promise no benefit to Estonian peasants except for excessively high taxes on income from producing meat and milk.

Latvian Officials View Army Housing Problem

PM0310154190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Sep 90 First Edition p 3

[Report by Colonel M. Ziyeminsh under the "Direct Line" rubric: "There Is Dialogue. There Are No Apartments"]

[Text] Riga—Mutual relations between the local authorities and the military units in a number of Latvian regions leave a lot to be desired. A particularly tense situation has arisen concerning the "apartment question." Thus a recent statement by the Committee for the Defense of Citizens' Rights and the USSR and Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Constitutions says that the republic is 29,718 square meters short in its allocation of housing to servicemen, and 4,031 servicemen's families have been unable to obtain a permit over a long period. So that a meeting between representatives of the Army community and members of the Latvian Supreme Soviet Standing Commission on Defense and Internal Affairs, held 21 September in the Baltic Military District Officers' House, was very much to the point.

The dialogue continued for over three hours. What did the Army community derive from it? For instance, on such a vital issue as housing? K. Litsisa, minister for government affairs, stated himself that the government is at present preparing a resolution restricting to a minimum the construction of new housing in Riga. So servicemen cannot see any improvement as regards housing in the near future.

Remember, around 5,000 servicemen's families are waiting for apartments at present in Latvia. What is the answer? According to the same minister, the military will obtain the possibility of constructing buildings on military installations, where the apartments will have official status. The servicemen for their part made a very sensible proposal at the meeting: Local authorities should refrain from adopting premature decisions concerning the servicemen, in any case until "the Army's status in the republic is resolved." It is not known whether the representatives of the authorities are paying heed to this advice, but there is no doubt that the servicemen's problems need to be urgently resolved.

Latvian Alternative Army Draft Law Amended

PM0410132590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Oct 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by Colonel M. Ziyeminysh: "Military Service Latvian Style"]

[Text] Riga—The law on alternative (labor) service adopted in the republic has not worked in practice. The people's deputies themselves were obliged to admit this after the spring draft. To put it simply, the result was that over 800 young men of draft age refused both service in the ranks of the USSR Armed Forces and the "legalized" alternative service. Now "amendments" have been made to the law. "If a person simultaneously refuses military service in the USSR Armed Forces and alternative (labor) service, he is charged in accordance with the law with evading alternative (labor) service," reads one of the addenda introduced at the 2 October Latvian parliament session.

A number of other articles of this law have also been subjected to considerable amendment. "Persons whose state of health permits," the next amendment reads, "can be sent to undergo alternative (labor) service in the paramilitary units of the system of the Latvian republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs organs, the Latvian republic's customs department, and the Latvian republic's border guard as well as to subunits and special detachments for safeguarding order." If you consider that the handling and employment of weapons is envisaged in some of the spheres for the fulfillment of military service duties listed above, then any talk of "labor" service seems absurd to say the least.

It is also highly indicative that in the above-mentioned cases the duration of service is 24 months while for graduates of higher educational establishments it is 12 months, and everyone must serve on the republic's territory. The majority of deputies for some reason left unheeded the military's following proposal, for instance: that persons to whom the law on alternative service could extend should be enlisted to serve in military construction detachments stationed on the republic's territory and in the civil defense unit. It can be seen that this proposal did not fit into the local politicians' strategic calculations.

The fall draft lies ahead. And to judge by the addenda which have been adopted it instills no great optimism....

Latvian Prosecutor Criticizes Bill on Supervision

LD0310190990 Moscow TASS in English 1817 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Riga October 3 TASS—"The Latvian parliament has attempted to abolish the republic's Moscow-appointed prosecutor's office, or at least isolate it from other law enforcement and state agencies in the republic," Latvian prosecutor V. Dauksis said.

He was commenting on a new bill on prosecutor's supervision. The Latvian parliament also nominated a new leadership for the Latvian prosecutor's office.

Dauksis's statement was published in the republic's party newspapers.

Leaders of the Latvian SSR prosecutor's office had extensive consultations with the republic's parliament before the passage of the bill.

Given the restructuring of the country's law enforcement structure, "we admit the possibility of changing the structure and functions of the prosecutor's office," Dauksis said.

However, this is not a task for today, he believes.

This can only happen after the signing of a new union treaty, defining the status of constituent republics, he said.

The new Latvian republic's prosecutor's office does not have a material base, will have to start from scratch and his hardly able to cope with its tasks. The property, archives, supervisory cases, transport, forensic and office equipment belong to the old Latvian prosecutor's office, the statement said.

Dauksis said the old Latvian prosecutor's office is informing all leaders, as well as officials and citizens that, in accordance with powers granted it by the USSR Constitution and the USSR law on "the USSR prosecutor's office", it will continue to supervise the implementation of laws on the entire territory of the republic.

Latvia Scraps October Revolution Day Holiday

LD0310182690 Moscow TASS in English 1711 GMT 3 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina]

[Text] Riga October 3 TASS—The Latvian Parliament passed a bill on public holidays today, scrapping the October Revolution Day and Constitution Day and creating a "Communist Terror Victims' Day."

From now on Latvians will officially celebrate Easter, Christmas and the ancient Jan Kupala holiday, marked in June.

A total of 115 out of the 200 lawmakers voted for the bill, one voted against and five, including President Anatolijs Gorbunovs—abstained.

The Ravnopraviye fraction, representing the republic's Russian-speaking population, walked out in protest before the vote was taken.

The parliamentary debate began very calmly and no one objected to proposals to declare Easter, Christmas and two Jan Kupala days in June official holidays.

New Year's eve and November 18, when Latvia was declared independent in 1918, will also be days-off.

International Women's Day, traditionally celebrated in the Soviet Union on March 8, will no longer be marked in Latvia. This proposal did not cause a row between the 189 male and 11 female lawmakers. Women should be accorded attention all year round, deputies said. However, they decided to mark Mother's Day on the Second Sunday in May.

The Ravnopraviye faction was dismayed by the Popular Front's proposal to abolish October Revolution Day, marked on November 7 and 8 and Victory Day, celebrated on May 9, and proclaim June 14 and March 25 "Communist Terror Victims' Day."

"The Communist idea must not be persecuted, this is done only in the most totalitarian states," Ravnopraviye leader Sergey Dimanis said.

"The abolition of May 9 sides Latvia with Nazi Germany. Today's decision will cause a great confrontation in society," he said.

However, his proposal to set up a conciliatory commission did not pass and Ravnopraviye walked out.

President Anatolijs Gorbunovs' proposal to submit the bill for a nationwide discussion did not get support, either.

Some deputies warned against hasty actions, saying that Latvia was divided and that the decision could worsen things.

The majority made a concession moving World War Two victims' Memory Day from May 8 to May 9, declining, however, to call it Victory Day.

Lithuanian Plans To Increase Food Prices

LD0410010590 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2200 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] An increase of the prices of food products is expected in Lithuania. The price of meat will almost treble and a kilogram cost about 7 rubles. The price of milk will increase to 70 kopecks per liter. The Lithuanian Government is considering how to compensate the increase in the prices of food products to the lowest-paid residents.

The increase in the prices of food products depends on the increase in the purchasing prices of agricultural products. They have been increased in view of the demands by agricultural workers who otherwise have threatened to boycott the sale of animals.

Lithuanians Reportedly Vandalize Army Monument

LD0310114190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Less than a week has passed since the adoption of an address to Communists and all working people of Lithuania by the secretariat of the Communist Party of Lithuania (CPSU) Central Committee in connection with the growing wave of vandalism in the republic; and the anger and indignation of the people in connection with the removal of the bas relief of Antanas Snieckus, a prominent Lithuanian political figure, has not yet died down; as well as in connection with an attempt to dismantle the monument to Vincas Mickevicius-Kapsukas in Vilnius, when yet another disgraceful action took place. This time thugs from the Lithuanian League for Liberty and the Youth League vandalized the monunment to servicemen of the Soviet Army who had fought for the liberation of the town of Shaulyay from German occupants. They poured paint all over the figure of the Soviet soldier. The town committee of the CPL (CPSU) made a protest. The copies of this document have been sent to the Supreme Council, the Lithuanian government and also to the republican procuracy.

Lithuanian-German Firm Sponsors Radio Vilnius

LD0310111590

[Editorial Report] Vilnius International Service in English at 2300 GMT on 2 October carries a four-minute report by correspondent Jonas Budris on Radio Vilnius' sponsors.

Budris begins: "This week Radio Vilnius joined a special broadcasting fraternity. They are now sponsored, albeit in a small way, by a private concern, Vilbara, a Lithuanian-German joint enterprise which brings to Vilnius Western goods at Western prices and takes Western cash."

Budris describes Vilbara's activities. He suggests that with the value of the ruble heading for that of the Confederate dollar in 1865, the Vilbara store plays a quasi-social service role, allowing for the conversion of savings into something of value "even if it is just a washing machine and requires a little money-laundering in the black market first." These shops are also convenient for the new breed of legal speculators also known as heads of cooperatives.

Over the Beatles singing "Money," the station announcer says: "This broadcast is sponsored in part by Vilbara, a joint Lithuanian-German venture with a network of hard currency shops throughout Lithuania and the Soviet Union as well as a trading mission based in Moscow."

RSFSR

Coverage of RSFSR Supreme Soviet Proceedings

3 Oct Session Reported

LD0310213390

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1940 GMT on 3 October begins carrying the "Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR Supreme Soviet Diary" program, comprising recorded highlights of the 3 October session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin in Moscow.

An unidentified deputy reads a statement adopted at the Kuzbass workers' conference demanding the government's resignation and other important social and political changes. If their demands are left unheeded they will fight for Russia leaving the USSR.

At 1941 GMT Deputy Belov says that people believe in the 500 days program but party bosses are hindering its implementation. The combination of party and soviet posts is a various thing and an obstacle in the path of reform.

At 1944 GMT Khasbulatov agrees that, indeed, this opposition is becoming intolerable and gives examples of hostile attitudes from local bureaucrats.

At 1946 GMT an unidentified deputy complains about central authorities trying to distort the process of drafting a union treaty. Also the situation of Russians in Moldova is uncertain and must not be neglected.

At 1950 GMT Khasbulatov says that talks with republics are being held precisely to protect our citisens.

At 1951 GMT Deputy Shuyko from the Committee for the young reads a statement criticizing the way the work of the Supreme Soviet has been organized. The agenda is not being observed, he says.

At 1955 GMT Klyuyev from the Commission for Transport, Communications, and Information Science reports on improving the work of public transport. The situation with transport in Russia is deplorable.

At 2000 GMT questions to Klyuyev are submitted from the floor.

At 2005 GMT proposals regarding the draft decision on transport are made.

At 2007 GMT the RSFSR Council of Ministers is instructed to work on the above draft decision.

At 2008 GMT Deputy Boburin submits a report on the interrelationship between people's deputies and executive bodies during the period of economic reform.

At 2016 GMT the above draft is discussed article by article. The draft is adopted on the first reading.

At 2029 GMT Deputy Sevastyanov says Russian-speaking deputies from Estonia ask to be given the floor for information.

At 2031 GMT Lebedev, deputy to the Estonian Supreme Soviet, reads an address adopted at meetings of the Estonian Russian-speaking population. Estonia is preparing to establish an economic border and customhouses, a system of invitations for visitors to Estonia is to be introduced. The Estonian Government is violating international legal norms and is striving to leave the USSR. The nonindigenous population has to leave the republic, and interethnic conflicts seem to be unavoidable. Official delegations from Russia which come to Estonia are somehow reluctant to meet representatives of the Russian-speaking population.

At 2039 GMT Khasbulatov says that the address will be noted. No discussion follows.

At 2040 GMT the studio announcer says that the RSFSR Supreme Soviet also discussed a draft law on referendums. The next joint session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet will be held on 9 and 10 October.

The program ends at 2041 GMT.

Ryzhkov Resignation Demanded

LD0310233190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1940 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Statement adopted by Kuzbass workers and read by an unidentified speaker to the 3 October RSFSR Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin in Moscow; from the "RSFSR Supreme Soviet Diary" program—recorded]

[Text] I am from the town of Novokuznetsk, Kemerovo Oblast. Esteemed people's deputies, esteemed Presidium, I would like to inform you on the decisions adopted at the fifth Kuzbass conference of the workers's committees and the Union of Working People of Kuzbass which took place on 29-30 September in the town of Novokuznetsk. The issue of the political situation in the republic and the country was discussed there. I will read the resolution of the conference to you:

We, participants in the fifth conference of Kuzbass workers' committees, confirm the decisions of the Confederation of Labor, the First Congress of Miners, and the political strike resolution of 11 July 1990 demanding the resignation of the Ryzhkov-led Union government and the elimination of that power structure. If these demands are not fulfilled we reserve the right to a political strike. Expressing no confidence in the USSR Supreme Soviet, we address the Russian parliament with the following proposals.

First, to adopt in the near future a law on the ratification of presidential decrees and other union legislative acts. Second, to set up a Russian national guard for defending republican sovereignty by transferring the troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the KGB stationed on Russia's territory to the command of the RSFSR Council of Ministers and implementing radical reform in the future. Third, in case the USSR leadership interferes with the implementation of Russia's sovereignty, to strive to see that the republic leaves the Union.

The Soviet of People's Deputies of the town of Novokuznetsk supported the decision of the fifth conference of the workers' committees and the Union of Working People of Kuzbass on the resignation of Ryzhkov's government and the adoption of a law on the ratification of all presidential decrees and Union legislative acts. Regrettably, the demands put forward by Kuzbass workers as well as the demands put forward by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on the resignation of Ryzhkov's government have already been ignored by the central leadership. In this case, can the parliament and government of Russia take upon themselves all responsibility for actions by the Union government beyond their control? I think that in these circumstances if our demands are rejected again, the Russian Supreme Soviet should discuss the proposals of Kuzbass workers on the issue of Russia leaving the composition of the Union, should draw up a set of measures aimed at finding out the view of Russians—of our republic—on this issue, that is a law on referendum should be adopted, the referendum itself should be carried out, and an extraordinary congress of RSFSR people's deputies should be held. The whole responsibility for a disintegration of the Union and for a collapse of the Union should be placed entirely upon the central government headed by President Gorbachev which has removed itself from control by the republics.

Administrative Relations Discussed

LD0310170190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Report by Marina Novitskaya at the RSFSR Supreme Soviet session in Moscow]

[Text] The Russian parliament today devoted the whole of its evening session to the problem of interaction between the soviets of people's deputies and their executive bodies. The need to address this theme is dictated by the current state of affairs in the bodies of authorities, especially local ones. Conflicts between soviets and their executive committees are leading to confusion, and quite simply to paralysis of authority.

Deputies today quoted a multitude of examples of this. The situation is fraught with all kinds of complications which can in no way be permitted in conditions of transition to the market. After all, the 500-days program, and especially the program for stabilization of the economy, requires harmonized action over the whole territory of the republic. The Supreme Soviet Presidium proposed the adoption of a corresponding law for that period. It registers a procedure which, it is true, is stipulated in the constitution whereby the decisions of the higher soviets are mandatory for the lower ones. It has become clear that it is also necessary to reinforce the rights of presidium of soviets to tackle vital issues without waiting for the next session. But meanwhile interference by them in the day-to-day work of executive committees is not permitted, and such interference is all the more impermissible in the economic activities of enterprises.

The authors of the draft even suggested that in the event of nonfulfillment of this law, a fine of 500 rubles [R] to R10,000 be imposed. Following lengthy arguments and a proposal that voting be by name, the draft was passed for its first reading, but it will be refined and its final version should be presented to deputies on Tuesday.

On a proposal from Nikolay Vasilyevich Fedorov, a resolution on the regulations for elections of judges of kray and oblast courts and of Moscow and Leningrad city courts and on procedures for confirming members of the presidiums of these courts was adopted. The point at issue here is that, according to the new law on the courts, judges are now appointed for a 10-year term. However, there is no urgent need to re-elect them right now; their powers are valid until 1992. Elections might create instability in the authority of the courts. The deputies accepted the minister's proposal. The election of new judges will be staged starting from 1992.

Right now the draft law on Russia-wide referendums is being examined for its second reading. Reporting on this law, Sergey Mikhaylovich Shakhray, who is chairman of the Russian parliament's committee on legislation, recalled that conflicts of bodies of authority may be resolved by going directly to the people. The main thing of which the draft law speaks, the main thing in its outline, is that a referendum may be staged on the initiative of the electors.

The discussion is continuing. We will tell you about its progess in subsequent newscasts.

Constituent Congress Discusses Major Issues

LD0310221390 Moscow TASS in English 2123 GMT 3 Oct 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondents Yuriy Kozmin and Pavel Ostrov]

[Text] Moscow October 3 TASS—First Deputy Chairman of the Russian Parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov described the unification of two Germanys as an oustanding event. He made this statement at the opening of the parliamentary plenary session on Wednesday.

"We congratulate the German people on this historic event and express confidence that friendly relations in the field of economy and culture between our peoples will strengthen," Khasbulatov said.

The first item on the agenda concerned urgent measures to improve the provision of the Russian Federation with public transport. After lengthy debates, deputies agreed that this issue required the competence of the executive branch.

Deputies then considered a bill on relationships between soviets of people's deputies and executive bodies during the implementation of economic reform. The bill was submitted by the presidium of the republican parliament. It says that the standards of legislative and other acts of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are applied to the territory of Russia if they do not run counter to the sovereignty declaration and other laws of the Russian Federation.

Russian legislators heard an appeal to the people's deputies of the Russian Federation and Latvia and the Leningrad and Pskov regional governing councils, which was adopted at a joint session of the four groups of deputies of the Estonian parliament, representing the interests of non-Estonians.

The appeal was made by Vladimir Lebedev, a deputy of the Estonian parliament and chairman of the Inter-Regional Council of People's Deputies and the Working People of Estonia. The appeal was promoted by a bill on establishing the republic's economic border, submitted to the Estonian parliament.

The bill envisages establishing a customs control. Lebedev said that it was actually a state border. He described the move as the beginning of the country's division. Lebedev asked Russian deputies not to sign and ratify any documents with the Estonian government without consultations with delegations of the Inter-Regional Council of Deputies of all levels, which were formed to conduct talks with the government of Russia and other republics.

The last item on the agenda was the discussion of the second reading of a bill on a referendum of the Russian Federation, but deputies endorsed only the first article of this document.

'Final Date' for Start of Economic Reform 1 Nov

PM0310155790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Oct 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by I. Demchenko under the rubric "On the Day's Topics": "When the '500 Days' Starts To Be Counted"]

[Text] As we know, Russia had planned to begin implementing the "500 days" program 1 October. On the morning of that day, appearing on the "120 Minutes" television program M. Bocharov, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Higher Economic Council, declared that in his opinion it really should begin 1 October. In the evening, in an interview on the "Vremya" television program, I. Silayev, chairman of the republic Council of Ministers, named a different date: 1 November.

I. Silayev accounted for the postponement of the date originally set by the republic's leadership by saying that the USSR Supreme Soviet had not had time to choose among the three programs submitted for its consideration.

The Union parliament, I will remind you, adopted a decision to combine all three programs in a single, synthesized program. Thus the decision must evidently be viewed as a deferment until 15 October when the discussion will be resumed. Commenting on the present situation at IZVESTIYA's request, R. Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, emphasized that the republic's parliament has viewed with understanding the USSR president's appeal to wait until 15 October and not put pressure on the republics and the center, so as to give them an opportunity to decide independently.

All this is holding up the preparatory work on the conclusion of horizontal treaties among the Union republics. For example, on 28 September the signing of a treaty on economic cooperation between Russia and the Ukraine was postponed, in part because of confusion over points such as the size of deductions into the Union budget, the federal tax, etc. Yet the economic union of sovereign republics is the basis of the "500 days" program. The actual realization of the program is to begin with the simultaneous adoption by the USSR president and the republic heads on the very first day of a number of legislative acts necessary for the functioning of a market economy.

Nevertheless, Russia's leadership is optimistic: The prime minister has forecast that the Union parliament, on returning to the "program" question, will adopt the version supported by the USSR president and based mainly on the Shatalin-Yavlinskiy concept. This is why the RSFSR Government was in session almost daily throughout last week, examining specific measures in the plan for realizing the program prepared by the working group under the leadership of S. Shatalin. They must be submitted to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet before 12 October, but the discussion of the draft laws governing the republic's transition to market relations in practice began 2 October.

Replying to the question of what the republic's leadership and parliament will do if the USSR Supreme Soviet is unable to decide even in the second half of October, R. Khasbulatov said:

"In any case we will begin implementing the Shatalin-Yavlinskiy program 1 November. That is the final date."

Vorkuta Miners Meet, Adopt Political Demands

LD0310163190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1520 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Viktor Makarov]

[Text] Vorkuta/Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR], 3 Oct (TASS)—A two-day conference of miners has ended here. It was held as a most important phase in the preparations for the second congress of the country's miners.

Delegates to the conference adopted resolutions demanding the resignation of the current Presidential Council and the formation of a new one on a multiparty basis, new elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet, the resignation of the Union government, and the transformation of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions into a coordinating council exclusively along nonparty lines. Support was voiced for the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet and Government and for the measures they mapped out to resolve the political and economic crisis. The Vorkuta miners supported a proposal on setting up an independent trade union of miners. The issue of participating in a general political strike or any other strike at present was not discussed at the conference. It was decided to suggest that the forthcoming session of the Vorkuta City Soviet discuss the issue of setting up municipal militia and closing down medical sobering-up stations.

RSFSR Trade Unions Appeal for Workers' Rights

904F0260A Moscow TRUD in Russian 25 Sep 90 p 1

[Appeal from the Constituent Congress of Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, Trade Unions to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet: "Fruitful Cooperation Is Essential"]

[Text] **As we have already reported, at the recent Constituent Congress of Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Trade Unions a number of documents were adopted, aimed at consolidating efforts to provide reliable safeguards for the social interests of workers under the conditions of the transition to the market. Today we publish the APPEAL OF THE CONSTITUENT CONGRESS OF THE RSFSR TRADE UNIONS TO THE RSFSR SUPREME SOVIET.**

The Constituent Congress of RSFSR Trade Unions is submitting to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet a proposal from the Russian trade unions regarding the legislative activity of the highest organs of power in the RSFSR.

While supporting the decision of the RSFSR people's deputies to draw up a new constitution for the Russian Federation, the trade unions are submitting a declaration of the rights of workers adopted by the constituent congress—a program document of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia [FNPR] for legislative and civil rights activity—so that its provisions can be reviewed for adoption in the constitution and new laws by the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

The Constituent Congress of RSFSR Trade Unions appeals to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet to give due consideration to the interests and rights of trade unions when drawing up and adopting laws on the federative arrangements in the RSFSR and a federative treaty; on the authorities and referendums, local soviets of people's deputies and local self-management, and the procedure for the recall of people's deputies; and also on regulations for the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet on matters relating to procedure with respect to legislative initiatives.

The positions of the trade unions should be taken into account in the concept of economic reform, the program for the revival of the Russian countryside and development of the agro-industrial complex, and first and foremost in draft legislation in the field of economic and land reform, social policy, and labor.

In the changing socioeconomic conditions, the Russian trade unions are convinced of the need to adopt special republic legislation guaranteeing the consolidation of the legal status of the trade union organizations. A draft RSFSR law "On Legal Guarantees for Trade Union Activity," approved by the Constituent Congress of RSFSR Trade Unions, is being submitted to the Supreme Soviet for consideration and adoption as part of its primary laws. At the same time it is necessary to make changes and amendments to the constitution and to civil, labor, housing, administrative, criminal, and procedural law in matters pertaining to legal guarantees for trade union activity.

As a priority step it is intended to draw up and adopt laws "On Collective Contracts," "On the Right To Strike," "On Procedure for Reviewing Personal Labor Disputes," and "On Labor Safety."

The trade unions advocate change in the procedure for reviewing labor disputes between citizens and the creation of special labor courts. It is necessary to slowly abolish the anticonstitutional "lists" that deprive workers of the right to complain to the courts about dismissal from work and to make retroactive a law banning those lists, so that regardless of when they were dismissed citizens may be legally reinstated in terms of their professional dignity and receive compensation for damages.

The trade union congress submits to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet a proposal to adopt a law "On State Guarantees and Compensation on the Territory of the Northern RSFSR."

Giving due consideration to future prospects, the trade unions of Russia are submitting proposals to draw up new fundamental codified legal enactments such as ecological, agrarian, transport, urban development, patent, and other codes.

The Constituent Congress of RSFSR Trade Unions proposes that an expert examination be made of existing legislation with the participation of representatives of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, the RSFSR Government, and the RSFSR Federation of Independent Trade Unions.

There is an urgent need to resolve questions relating to the force on republic territory of prescriptive enactments adopted in various years by the all-Union and republic governments and USSR and RSFSR ministries and departments jointly with the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] and the sector trade unions and also to define the organs that should issue prescriptive enactments on matters previously related to the sphere of joint enactments by state and trade union organs or fully transferred to the competence of the trade unions.

In the interests of the working man and all workers in Russia, the Constituent Congress of RSFSR Trade Unions expresses the hope for fruitful cooperation between the Russian trade unions and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and its committees and standing commissions, and with deputy groups, the RSFSR Council of Ministers, and ministries and departments.

Voronin Heads Study of Bryansk Potato Crops

LD0310181890 Moscow Dometic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Summary] Lev Alekseyevich Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, left for

Bryansk Oblast today. He is the head of the operational group of the USSR Council of Ministers which has been formed on the instruction of the USSR president and which left for Bryansk Oblast today in order to investigate what is going on in the potato fields of Bryansk Oblast. Correspondent Valeriy Kiosa reports that so far the operational group has visited a number of collective farms in the oblast. Employees of collective farms stressed that they do not have enough equipment and people. Nevertheless, they hope that they will be able to salvage the crops.

Newspaper Calls For Charges Against Press Minister

LD0410110790 Moscow TASS in English 1046 GMT 4 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow October 4 TASS—The Moscow-based GLASNOST weekly called today for criminal charges against Mikhail Poltoranin, the Russian Federation's minister for the press and mass information.

The newspaper recalls that three weeks ago the minister issued threats against his colleagues in the party press. Speaking in a TV interview, he promised that reprisals were also planned against journalists' relatives.

Poltoranin worked at PRAVDA and other party publications for three decades and has proven himself to be an orthodox Marxist-Leninist. He also fortified his ideological faith by studying at the Higher Party School. However, no sooner had the former party functionary been elected a republican minister six months ago, at Boris Yeltsin's recommendation, than he turned into a rabid anti- communist.

GLASNOST addresses him "a personal question": Does the minister's statement mean that new reprisals, similar to Stalin's, are prepared in the Russian Federation? The newspaper also wants to know in the name of which circles in the Russian Government and the Russian Federation parliament Poltoranin speaks.

The newspaper asks whether a man who publicly breaches the criminal code is fit for a ministerial post. The Soviet law qualifies threats and instigation to terror as a criminal offence. In this context it also asks for explanations from Soviet Procurator General Aleksandr Sukharev.

This is the third time that GLASNOST has addressed these "personal questions", as Yeltsin could not answer them having been in a car accident two weeks ago.

Maritime Shipping Line Political Officers Retired

LD0310143590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Political leaders of the maritime shipping line ships—the political officers—have been retired. According to the documents, they passed as first officer to the captain, but their main job was conducting party events on the ships. The decision to abolish the institution of first officers was made at a session of the shipping line party committee bureau. The political officers who came to this position from navigators, engineers, and radio operators are now undergoing re-examination and will return to their former duties. Retraining former ship's commissars without maritime education will then begin and they will all be found employment. At various times there have been up to 60 first officers in the maritime shipping line. Now 30 of them remain and there will soon be none. The shipping line will use the funds saved for raising the wages of the fleet personnel.

Leningrad City Soviet Discusses Economy

LD0310203290 Moscow TASS in English 2012 GMT 3 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent John Polishchuk]

[Text] Leningrad October 3 TASS—Leningrad's City Council began its second session here today to discuss ways of revitalising the city's crumbling economy, a proposed free economic zone and other social and economic issues.

The session will also replace the old executive with a new one.

The meeting was disrupted when several deputies demanded that Russia's pre-revolutionary flag hoisted in the hall be removed.

Siberian Oblasts Prepare for Market Transition

LD0310191890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Report by N. Chirkov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] An agreement on economic, cultural, and scientific-technical cooperation was signed in Kemerovo by representatives of local soviets of peoples deputies of Altay and Krasnoyarsk Krays; of Kemerovo, Novosibirsk, Omsk, Tomsk, and Tyumen Oblasts; and Khakass Autonomous Oblast.

[Chirkov] The representatives of eight oblasts and krays of Siberia, from Tyumen to Krasnoyarsk and Khakassia, have assembled in Kemerovo to define their positions and in some way to protect themselves from the transitional period to the market economy. I would like you to look closely at the expression on the face of Aman Tuleyev, chairman of the Kemerovo Oblast Soviet. In my opinion it indicates quite clearly the interest, fears, and hopes which exist at this meeting.

Two weeks ago Tuleyev sent messages to his neighbors proposing such a meeting. As you can see the reaction was rapid. The empty shelves, the idling machine tools, and the instability in the political situation hastened the chairmen of the soviets to seek a way out together. They found it by setting up the Siberian Agreement within the framework of which it is planned to maintain next year the volume of imports and exports of products at the level of 1989's relative success and to take measures to make up for the shortfalls in deliveries in the fourth quarter.

The sides intend to coordinate their external economic activity, taking account of the free economic zones in the Kuzbass and the Altay, and also to create a common market in goods, securities, and labor. It is quite possible that in the near future a united mass information media will be set up, including an all-Siberian television service. All of this will make it possible to create a well-integrated structure in the region beyond the Urals, making it possible to satisfy in full their needs from their own sources. The prerequisites have also appeared for setting up common bodies of peoples power, a sort of Siberian legislature.

One Dead in Ethnic Clashes in Novocherkassk

PM0410100190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Oct 90 First Edition p 4

[Report by correspondent Lieutenant Colonel N. Astashkin under the "Direct Line" rubric: "No Agreement Reached"]

[Text] Novocherkassk, 1 Oct—Large-scale, ethnic-motivated fights occurred in Novocherkassk last week. Thus on Wednesday evening in the Yermak Square area, an insignificant conflict—at first sight—arose between young inhabitants of Novocherkassk and representatives of Caucasic nationalities. After this the young city people set off for a discotheque. Another fight occurred en route during which three young men received knife wounds. One of them, named Kovalenskiy, died.

The next day from morning on groups of young people, mainly students at vocational and technical schools and technical colleges, began assembling on Lenin Square. Local authority representatives, headed by A. Frolov, deputy chairman of the city soviet, entered into talks with them. The demands of those assembled were contradictory, ranging from a categorical statement on expelling all persons of Caucasic nationality to the instilling of order in educational institutions where these people are accorded "most favored status."

Agreement was not reached between the city authorities and the young people. In the evening a column of young people stretched along Lenin Avenue in the direction of Revolution Square.

It remains to be added that the situation in Novocherkassk is alarming. A special commmission comprising law-enforcement agency workers has been set up to look into the incidents of confrontation in the city.

Once-Secret Voronezh Plant Boosts Consumer Output

PM0310103590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 30 Sep 90

[Report by L. Maksimov on Machine Builders Day; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Maksimov] This splendid building with its vast mosaic on the facade recently appeared in Voronezh. Scrutinizing it, the people of Voronezh seem to have guessed that people at the Energiya Science-and-Production Association are doing something for space. In the recent past it was considered secret. Today on Machine Builders Day your correspondent reports from this enterprise. The work of designers, engineers, and workers here; their output; and various electromechanical goods are designed to meet both space and defense needs. The association dates back to the same time as our perestroyka. The first question for general director Vladimir Nikolayevich Popov is as follows: What has resulted from the restructuring of production?

[Popov] We see our main task in the perestroyka process as being to gather together all the good things that have emerged in our country in this time and introduce them at our association via our scientific and technical center. We have switched to leasing relations with the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry and Instrument Making. We have begun to earn additional profits. This has enabled us to rectify our social affairs. The Energiya commercial bank has been set up on our initiative. We have worked out and introduced a system of self-credit.

[Maksimov] The volume of defense industry output has been cut. To make up for it there has been a drastic increase in consumer goods production, goods that are in short supply. Thus, total production is not lessening but increasing. Voronezh's Energiya Association is continuing its creative questing. The market economy lies ahead and the collective expects good things of it, relying on its own efforts.

Muddy Conditions Impede Bryansk Oblast Harvest

PM0310103190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 29 Sep 90

[Report by A. Guglya from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Guglya] Let me say straight away that although the situation is truly alarming, it is far from panic. Judge for yourselves. To date an average of only one-third of the total area of potatoes has been harvested in the oblast. Whereas last year potato growers were complaining about a shortage of transport facilities to deliver the potatoes to consumers, the situation this year is quite different. There are more than enough trucks and freight cars, but there are no potatoes. Or rather it is impossible to get at them. The long rains have made it almost entirely impossible to use powerful machinery. Teams of machine operators are on call on sovkhozes [state farms] and kolkhozes [collective farms], ready to go out into the fields as soon as the conditions allow. According to specialists, in order to save the crop it is necessary to harvest potatoes from 4,000 hectares per day. The actual figure is only half that. The main work force in the fields at the moment consists of students and vocational school pupils. The city dwellers' assistance is not very effective.

Here are some alarming figures. Under the plan, Bryansk procurement workers are supposed to dispatch more than 130 tonnes of potatoes to Moscow, for instance. So far only 19.5 tonnes have been dispatched. There are 29 trucks from Rostov Oblast alone waiting to be loaded with potatoes.

[D.I. Kontsyyal, director of Kokino farm] The rains have naturally caused additional difficulties. This indicates that both leaders and specialists of all levels should elaborate the tactics and strategy of harvest work in greater detail and depth.

[Guglya] A few days ago I overheard a conversation between two city dwellers indignant about the absence of potatoes in Bryansk stores: "Someone ought to tell them to use horse-drawn plows if conditions are unsuitable for heavier machinery."

In short, no brighter spells are in sight either in the skies or the fields.

Siberian Journalists Form Association

LD0310133190 Moscow TASS in English 1301 GMT 3 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Viktor Yelmakov]

[Text] Novosibirsk October 3 TASS—The principal goals of a Siberian journalists' association, which was founded today at a conference of delegates from six territories and regions of Siberia, are to ensure the socio-economic and legal protection of journalists and to strengthen professional contacts between editorial collectives.

The association is aiming to publish a Siberian advertising-and-information newspaper and books by Siberian journalists, hold creative conferences and arrange the advanced training of editorial personnel at the offices of leading Soviet and foreign publications.

Western Republics

Belorussia Moves To Protect Consumer Market

PM0210152990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent Mikhail Shimanskiy: "Protecting Their Stores"]

[Text] Minsk—The Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers has adopted a resolution on urgent measures to improve the situation in the republic's consumer market.

It outlines specific measures to protect the interests of the republic's population.

The resolution states that sales of television sets, refrigerators, footwear, bicycles, and other goods in very short supply must be ensured in 1991 at 50-100 percent above this year's level. From what sources? By increasing production of these goods and reducing outflows of them under interrepublic shipments. The republic's market will receive all the consumer goods produced over and above the plan in the third and fourth quarters of this year, as well as reserved goods and goods not covered by export shipment agreements. Goods additionally produced at the initiative of local soviets will remain at their disposal. Exports to other parts of the country of goods produced in small batches by consumer service enterprises will be prohibited.

Repeat Elections Held in Belorussia 30 Sep

LD3009105290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 30 Sep 90

[Text] Repeat elections to soviets at various levels are taking place in Belorussia today. Tens of thousands of citizens still have no representatives in the republic's Supreme Soviet. The repeat elections held in some constituencies during the summer were declared null and void as the turnout was less than 50 percent.

Gomel Begins Rationing Certain Food Items

LD0210121190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russia 1000 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Gomel Oblast, one of Belorussia's latest bastions of free trade, has been affected by ever-increasing shortages of goods. Rationing has been introduced there today on flour, groats, macaroni, and wine. Other goods are being sold on presentation of registration documents. Leaders in the oblast believe this measure will help to stem the flow of foodstuffs to neighboring areas of Russia and the Ukraine which has been increasing day by day.

Belorussian Legislature Introduces New Newspaper

LD0210183690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Summary] The new PEOPLE'S NEWSPAPER, published by the Belorussian Supreme Soviet, appears today.

The paper is in Belorussian and Russian, with free supplements that will provide subscribers with a transcript of parliamentary proceedings.

Minsk City Resumes Ancient Belorussian Symbols

PM0210153790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

[BELTA-TASS report: "Knight on a Horse with a Sword"]

[Text] The Minsk City Soviet Presidium has adopted a decision on the use of Belorussia's historical symbols of the white, red, and white flag and the "Pogonya" coat of arms depicting a mounted knight holding a sword in his hand. They have been the Belorussians' symbols for many centuries, for instance the picture of a horseman adorns one of the oldest state legal documents—the statute of the Great Lithuanian Principality in which Belorussians formed the majority of the population.

Moldova Supreme Soviet Holds Session 1 Oct

Draft Programs Described

LD0110124990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1043 GMT 1 Oct 90

[Report by MOLDOVA-PRES-TASS correspondents Anatoliy Golya and Aleksandr Tanas]

[Text] Kishinev, 1 Oct (TASS)—An extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of the Moldova Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] opened in Kishinev today. The deputies are to discuss and confirm the draft program for the stabilization of the economy and the transition to the market, and to ratify the treaty on the principles of interstate relations between the Moldova SSR and the Russian Federation, and also adopt republican laws "On the State Emblem of the Moldova SSR" and "On the Legal Conditions of the State of Emergency and Special Forms of Rule in the Moldova SSR."

The draft program for the stabilization of the economy and the transition to the market has been prepared on the basis of the program of the group of Academician Sergey Shatalin. The draft law also takes into account the tenets of the USSR Government program, the proposals of representatives of the Union republics, and the alternatives of scholars and practical workers.

The draft decision of the Moldovan legislature that has been prepared on the ratification of the treaty with Russia stresses that "the contracting parties take upon themselves reciprocal obligations to guarantee to persons living on the parties' territories the right to preserve or to obtain the citizenship of the Russian Federation and the Moldova SSR in accordance with their own free will."

The law "On the Legal Conditions of the State of Emergency and Special Forms of Rule in the Moldova SSR" establishes the political, legal, economic, and social conditions for the proclamation of a state of emergency in the territory of the republic and the procedure for introducing special forms of rule in specific territories of Moldova.

The document notes that the aim of a proclamation of a state of emergency and the introduction of special forms of rule is to normalize the situation as quickly as possible, and to restore legality and law and order in the republic.

Shatalin Program Supported

LD0210201890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Summary] The extraordinary session of Moldova's Supreme Soviet has rejected the governmental economic program and comes out in favor of the Shatalin program. Nevertheless some points of the program, such as the suggestion to sell land to peasants, are unacceptable to Moldova.

Moldova, Romania Sign Cooperation Treaty

LD2909044190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1625 GMT 28 Sep 90

[Report by MOLDOVAPRES-TASS correspondents Anatoliy Golya and Aleksandr Tanas]

[Text] Kishinerv, 28 Sep. (TASS)—An intergovernmental treaty on mutually-beneficial cooperation between the Moldova Soviet Socialist Republic—a republic in southwestern USSR—and Romania was signed here today. The document was signed by Mircha Druk, the prime minister of Moldova, and Anton Vatasescu Romanian minister of state.

"The agreement which has been signed envisages broad cooperation between our fraternal states in the economic, scientific, social, and cultural spheres", Anton Vatasescu told a MOLDOVAPRES-TASS correspondent. "Together it will be much easier to overcome the difficulties connected with switching from command-administrative methods of planning and distribution to a free market economy".

This is not the first economic cooperation agreement signed by the Government of Moldova. Similar treaties were concluded with Burkina Faso, Burundi, Botswana, and also with Russia, Latvia, and Turkmenia. Matters relating to regulating direct ties with Turkey and the United States are being analyzed.

Moldovan Unions To Form Independent Federation

LD2809204290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 28 Sep 90

[Text] A decision to form an independent federation of Moldovan trade unions was adopted at the congress of the republic's trade unions which finished today. This new organization should replace the unwieldy structure which has been in existence to date. One of the principle tenets of the new federation is free entry and exit from it. The trade unions of Moldova advocate a market economy. However, they will try not to overlook the social protection of the population in their work. Specific programs are needed today, delegates stressed, which should include economic, legal, and social guarantees for the workers.

Moldovan Party Expels Tiraspol Chairman

LD2909200590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1210 GMT 29 Apr 90

[Text] Kishinev, 29 Sep (TASS)—Igor Smirnov, chairman of the Tiraspol City Soviet of People's Deputies, who is the head of the provisional Supreme Soviet of the Dnestr Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], has been expelled from the Communist Party for organizing destructive separatist acts aimed at altering the structure of the state and destroying the territorial integrity of the SSR of Moldova. This decision was taken by the bureau of the Control and Auditing Commission of the Communist Party of Moldova.

The social and political situation in the republic has worsened of late, and anticommunist sentiments and attacks on the CPSU have increased, notes the resolution that has been adopted. The atmosphere was particularly inflamed by the decisions of the second emergency congress of people's deputies at all levels from a number of towns and rayons in the Dnestr area, which was held on 2 September. It proclaimed the Dnestr Moldavian SSR within the USSR, which was declared anticonstitutional by a session of the Supreme Soviet of the SSR of Moldova. The bureau of the control and auditing commission of the Communist Party of Moldova has called upon the party organizations of the republic to strengthen their influence on attaining a national consensus, inculcating internationalist awareness in people and excluding instances of adopting decisions aimed at destabilizing the situation in the republic and facilitating the outbreak of fresh conflicts.

In SOVETSKAYA MOLDOVA today, which is published in Russian, there is an interview with Smirnov. In particular he condemns separatism, stating that it is a "poor" concept, especially from an economic point of view. He writes: "On the contrary, everything in the world at the moment aims at integration, unification, and expanding the framework of cooperation. However in our case there was no other option since the majority of people living in the Dnestr area, or as they say those speaking another language, have lost confidence in the future."

He went on to say that the conciliation commission set up by the Moldovan Supreme Soviet has scarcely taken a single step. "Laws are being adopted too hastily by the Supreme Soviet of Moldova. A drive toward multinational status has been initiated. Whatever we want or long for the right of the individual is superior to other rights, in my opinion. It is necessary for every individual, no matter where that person lives, to have freedom of choice and for their rights to be protected from all points of view, both economically and politically," Smirnov writes.

Tarazevich Commission Studies Moldovan Situation

LD2909213690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1303 GMT 29 Sep 90

[Text] Kishinev, 29 Sep (TASS)—A commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet, headed by Georgiy Tarazevich, chairman of the Commission for Nationalities Policy and Relations Between the Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, is in Moldova to study the social and political situation in the republic. Members of the commission appointed by the USSR president are Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev, adviser to the president, and Mikhail Demidov, a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The Commission has as its aim to study the situation that has developed in the republic, to establish the causes that led to its destabilization, and to promote the stabilization of the situation. The members of the commission have been to Tiraspol and to Komrat Rayon where they held meetings and conversations with executive staff of the local soviets and with workers and collective farm workers.

Speaking to the workers at the Tiraspol "Kirov" Casting Machines Works, Sergey Akhromeyev, deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet, said: "The situation in Moldova has gone very far. It is not hopeless, however. A sober and considered approach to solving the problems that have accumulated is needed. The people who live in Moldova must show good will and reason and move toward one another. After all, for centuries you have lived in peace and harmony. I believe that today, too, you will find ways toward compromise and that all together you will solve the difficult problems that face you. To do so, however, it is necessary not so much to explain—carefully, patiently, and at length—as to make alarmed people aware in their heart of hearts of the indisputable notion that Moldova must not be a place of discord and confrontation."

Moldovan Leaders Talk With Odessa Military

PM0210150390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Sep 90 First Edition p 3

[Report by correspondent Colonel N. Mulyar: "Meeting With Moldovan President"]

[Text] Kishinev—A working visit was held 27 September between M. Snegur, president of the SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] of Moldova, and the republic's Prime Minister M. Druk on the one hand, and on the other Lieutenant General A. Sergeyev, chief of staff at the Odessa Military District, and Major General V. Nazarov, military commissar for the SSR of Moldova.

Questions of initial military training and the organization of the draft of young people for active military service were discussed. The talks also covered the M.V. Frunze Special Boarding School which, as is well known, was closed down by the republic's Council of Ministers.

Moldovan People's Front Chairman Resigns

LD0110202790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1142 GMT 1 Oct 90

[Report by MOLDOVAPRES-TASS correspondent Virdzhiliu Tsopa]

[Text] Kishinev, 1 Oct [MOLDOVAPRES-TASS]—"The problems of a very fast transition to the market and ways of resolving them, with the aim of achieving full sovereignty for the republic" was the slogan of a rally that took place here last Sunday [30 September]. It was organized by the Moldovan People's Front [MPF] and assembled around 7,000 people.

Speakers noted the fact that the Moldovan people's fight for national revival has entered a new and historic phase and that the time has come for action directed toward attaining real independence for the republic. The MPF considers that the aim it has set can only be achieved by means of a skillful combination of political and economic fighting methods. The MPF attaches special significance in this matter to the future law on property and to the possibility of declaring Moldova a free economic zone.

The rally resolution expressed support for the decision by the Russian parliament on the resignation of the USSR Government.

Ion Khadyrke, who is the first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic, announced his resignation from the post of chairman of the MPF Council.

Moldovan Social Democratic Party Established

LD0210202690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] The Social Democratic Party of Moldova [Sotsial Demokraticheskaya Partiya Moldovy] has been established. It will act within the republic's constitution and laws. Membership of the party is incompatible with membership in other parties.

Reportage on Ukraine Supreme Soviet Session

Sitting Disrupted

PM0410091990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Oct 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent S. Tsikora: "Rally in Street and in Hall"]

[Text] Kiev—The start of the work of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet has been wrecked. The deputies did not discuss a single item on the agenda.

Half an hour before the start of the session's work a thousands-strong column of demonstrators with blue and yellow national flags approached the parliament building. The posters and banners bore appeals to reject the conclusion of the Union Treaty and demands for the disbandment of the Ukrainian Communist Party and the resignation of the head and the government of the republic. The deputies were handed the resolution of the packed rally of Rukh [Ukrainian People's Movement of Perestroyka] supporters held in Kiev the previous day and a blue and yellow flag, which parliamentarians carried into the hall. That was when it all began.

The "239 Group," which consists mainly of leading party and soviet workers and some economic planners, has a majority in the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet. On the parliamentary rostrum this faction is usually opposed by "People's Council" deputies representing the new politicized public organizations. Given such a distribution of forces, the flag handed over by the demonstrators was not set up in the hall, but this incident with the flag did of course prompt the start of an open confrontation.

L. Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, who spoke at the opening of the session, briefed the deputies on the situation in the republic and on the measures which might extricate it from the crisis. These include stabilization in the socioeconomic sphere, protection of the internal market, and the adoption of appropriate laws and resolutions. Academician I. Yukhnovskiy expressed the opposition deputies' viewpoint on these problems. During the debate which developed, USSR People's Deputy S. Konev accused the republic's government of the present crisis on behalf of the Association of Democratic Councils and Democratic Blocks on Soviets of People's Deputies and demanded the resignation of V. Masol, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, and of L. Kravchuk, head of the republic. After that the session's work was totally disorganized: The deputies did not let each other speak and used force to push each other away from the microphones. The chairman was forced to announce a break in the session's work.

Gathered in factions, the deputies spent several hours discussing the situation. They failed to find a common language but resolved the question by a vote. A majority inclined toward returning without delay to considering the items on the agenda.

By way of an exception the deputies decided to give the floor to L. Ratushnyy, coordinator of Kiev Strike Committee, who read out a list of demands to the republic's Supreme Soviet adopted at a session of representatives of strike and workers committees from various parts of the Ukraine.

1 Oct Strike Examined

LD0210202190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1808 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] Kiev, 2 Oct (UKRINFORM-TASS)—At today's evening session of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet information was revealed on the results of yesterday's [1 October] strike which, as conceived by its initiators, was to take on republic-wide proportions.

As was reported to people's deputies by Viktor Gladush, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers, referring to the data of the statistical organs of the oblasts, the republic's labor collectives with few exceptions worked normally. More than 10,000 people took part in warning strikes and temporary absences from work at 31 enterprises. If one takes into account that there are on average about 25 million people working every day in the republic, it can be said that the

Ukraine's national economy was working normally. Individual cases of work stoppages had no tangible effect on production output.

The Ukraine Government hopes that the working people of the republic understand the current complex situation, the economic position, and the irrefutable fact that only what is produced by labor can be consumed, Viktor Gladush said.

More than 100 students from various Ukraine colleges began a hunger strike today in October Revolution Square. A report on the hunger strike was submitted to the Kiev Soviet of People's Deputies. It is to be examined at the next session.

As a UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent was told by Oles Doniy, cochairman of the action coordinating committee and chairman of the Kiev branch of the Ukrainian students' union, those taking part are demanding the resignation of the Ukraine Government, the adoption of laws on political parties and public organizations, a new law on elections, the nationalization of Communist Party property and that of the Komsomol of the Ukraine, the return to the Ukraine of all its citizens who are serving in the Army outside the republic, and a guarantee for young men in the current and subsequent call-ups to be able to perform their military service in the Ukraine.

Session Views Economic Stabilization

LD0310204390 Moscow TASS in English 2029 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Report by UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Stanislav Volnyanskiy]

[Text] Kiev October 3 TASS—Ukrainian lawmakers today continued to discuss the government programme of measures to stabilise the economic situation in the republic.

The programme was submitted by First Deputy Prime Minister Anatoliy Statinov at the evening session on Tuesday. It came under fire from the very beginning of the debate.

Noting weak points in the government document, speakers stressed that it ignores the present-day imperatives and does not contain clear-cut prospects.

The programme should be aimed not at stabilising the economy and preserving the existing level, that is the crisis situation in the republic, but at imposing emergency measures to pull the republic out of the crisis.

Lawmakers criticised poorly conceived proposals, lack of plans how to boost the production of consumer goods, normalise the finance and credit system, beat down inflation, wipe out the budget deficit, demonopolise the economy and to privatise property.

The session instructed the council of ministers to improve this important document and submit it for parliament's consideration next Monday, October 8. The government's request to extend the deadline till October 15 was rejected.

Legislators were informed that Vladimir Parkhomenko, Ukrainian minister of higher and specialised secondary education, Igor Yukhnovskiy, chairman of the opposition People's Rada [council] Party, and Valentin Medrigailo, chief of the Kiev militia, visited students who went on a hunger strike and pegged tents in downtown Kiev, and listened to their demands.

Coverage of Ukrainian Central Committee Plenum

'Complex' Situation Viewed

LD2809192990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 28 Sep 90

[Excerpt] The plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, which took place today, considered the issue of the urgent tasks of party organizations in the current sociopolitical situation. Gurenko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, gave a report. It was noted that the political situation in the republic is continuing to become more complex. The forces opposing the CPSU Central Committee are increasingly openly manifesting themselves as antipopular, antisocialist, and separatist. The participants spoke with alarm about the campaign that has been unleashed against the signing of a new Union treaty by the Ukraine and in favor of the republic's secession from the USSR.

The passive, temporizing positions of the leaders of the republic's Council of Ministers were subjected to acute criticisms because of their lateness with the preparation of a program of their own on the transition to a market economy. Measures for stabilizing the political situation in the republic were designated a the plenum. The plenum adopted an appeal by the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee to Communists and all workers in the republic. [passage omitted]

Gurenko Notes 'Perilous' Situation

PM0110121190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by PRAVDA correspondents M. Odinets and I. Tikhomirov: "To Relieve the Tension"]

[Text] Kiev, 28 Sep—A Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee plenum has examined the question of "Party Organizations' Urgent Tasks in the Present Social and Political Situation."

The main speaker, S.I. Gurenko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party, and the contributors to the debate talked anxiously about the continuing deterioration of the political situation in the republic, saying that it is becoming perilous. As the 28th Ukrainian Communist Party Congress warned, political division in society is worsening, and forces in opposition to the CPSU are becoming more and more blatant in their antipopular, antisocialist, and separatist actions. They are gearing their efforts to seizing power, making plain their intentions to achieve this by violent means. They are fueling anticommunist hysteria, encapsulated in acts of vandalism against monuments to V.I. Lenin, sanctioned [as published] rallies, pickets, strikes, calls for civil disobedience, and the killing of Communists.

A provocative campaign has been launched against the Ukraine's conclusion of the new Union treaty and for the republic's secession from the USSR.

Political and social conflicts are disrupting the normal work rhythm and economic links and are exacerbating crisis phenomena in the socioeconomic sphere.

In these conditions the Ukrainian Communist Party was unable to show that it is an organized and organizing force. Constant pressure from political opponents and splittists inside the party is causing confusion in some party organizations, thus undermining faith in the potential to change things for the better.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has failed to fully exploit the mobilizing potential of the decisions of the 28th CPSU Congress and 28th Ukrainian Communist Party Congress for uniting party ranks. The Central Committee Politburo's position is not always consistent, but its practical actions are prompt and timely. The republic's Communists are worried by the absence of a resolute and proper reaction to the dangerous development of events in the country by the CPSU Central Committee.

The plenum saw it as an urgent task for the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, party oblast, city and rayon committees, primary party organizations, and all Communists to relieve the tension in society and stabilize the political situation in the republic.

The plenum decided some organizational matters. In view of L.M. Kravchuk's election as chairman of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, he was relieved of his duties as second secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. G.P. Kharchenko, formerly first secretary of Zaporozhye Ukrainian Communist Party Oblast Committee and chairman of the oblast soviet, was elected Politburo member and second secretary. The plenum relieved V.A. Ivashko of his duties as Politburo member in view of his election as deputy general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Party Issues Appeal to Communists, Citizens

LD0110204690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 1 Oct 90

[Text] The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine has made an appeal to all Communists and all citizens of the republic.

It says that forces whose aim is to seize political power have gone over to openly attacking the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine and the government of the republic. Calls are being made for physical violence against Communists.

The document notes that not only are the anticommunist Ukrainian Republican Party and the Union of Independent Ukrainian Youth a part of these destructive forces, so also are representatives of the extremist wing of Rukh [Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka].

Coverage of Ukrainian Republic Protest Strikes

Lvov Response 'Mixed'

PM2809115190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Stepan Troyan under "Direct Line" rubric: "In Anxious Expectation of Strike"]

[Text] Lvov—The report on the forthcoming republic general strike has provoked a mixed reaction.

At the second session of the oblast soviet its chairman, V. Chornovil, stated:

"I support the protest against the political anomalies that are inherent in the system, but the forms of public indignation can and must be diverse. In Lvov Oblast, and indeed in the other oblasts of the Ukraine there is no sense in wasting a working day. I am against this strike, which is capable of dealing a crippling blow to an economy which is weakening by the hour. Two hours are quite sufficient to express one's anger—the remaining six must be devoted to work. It is possible to hold mass rallies after a shift too and to find other means of fighting against what disturbs the people today. The strike is sheer suicide."

And here is the opinion of A. Bendzyak, a miner from one of the "Ukrzapadugol" [Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Western Region Mining Industry Production Association] pits:

"With head and heart I fully support the appeal of the representatives of the republic's strike, workers, and trade union committees whose sitting I attended. But the strike committees must decide locally how to act in each specific case. If people who think democratically are in the driver's seat, why put a spoke in their wheels? Incidentally, the strike is scheduled for 1 October, and not for 27 September."

"The loss from the forthcoming action should be minimal," V. Vyazivskiy, member of the "Ukrzapadugol" strike committee, supported the worker.

Deep concern over the one-day strike was voiced at the session. Labor collectives must weigh everything up carefully before making a decision.

Masol Warns of 'Political Gamblers'

PM0210132390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Sergey Tsikora under the "Direct Line": "Will Reason Prevail?"]

[Text] Kiev—Ukrainian Government head V. Masol called the republican general strike and national demonstration set for 1 October in Kiev a challenge to the legally elected organs of power and an attempt to provoke a serious political crisis.

In his speech on Ukrainian television, the text of which was published by all the republican papers, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers chairman said that at the moment in the Ukraine "things are very tense. Some 1.35 million hectares of sunflowers and nearly two-thirds of the potatoes, vegetables, and sugar beet remain unharvested in the fields and the corn harvest has not even started." If the full range of field work is not completed during fine weather in September and if the republic succumbs to rally fever, "even given this year's pretty good harvest, we could be left without food products."

Destructive forces have been busy in this situation, V. Masol went on. The demands put forward by the strike and demonstration organizers have the ring of an ultimatum. What they want is the resignation of the government that has only just been formed and the dissolution of the Supreme Soviet.

According to the government head, all this is bound to anger anyone who knows the value of labor and cherishes peace and tranquillity in our society. "Therefore on behalf of the government I am appealing to workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, and young people and to the reason and wisdom of the people: Do not let yourselves be deceived by the political gamblers and stop those who are resorting to adventures."

Pointing out that a decree was recently adopted prohibiting the sale of food products outside the republic, V. Masol told the television audience that further decisions are now being prepared and will be adopted very soon to protect the interests of the republic's population through economic methods, taxation policy, and other means.

Kiev Demonstrations, Rallies

PM0210141990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Oct 90 Morning Edition pp 1, 2

[Report by correspondent S. Tsikora: "The Ukraine: A Difficult Monday"]

[Text] Kiev—The fall session of the Ukraine Supreme Soviet began its work protected on all sides by militiamen standing shoulder to shoulder.

Such an untraditional opening of parliament was caused by the previous day's events. On Sunday 30 September, a rally and very large demonstration by supporters of Rukh [Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka] and of the new political parties and organizations which had emerged from its ranks, took place in Kiev. Tens of thousands of people from every oblast gathered in the republic's capital. During the two-hour-long rally they expressed their understanding of the political and economic situation in the republic and their vision of the ways to overcome the crisis.

All through the week leading up to this, Kiev had been alive with unrest and rumor about the unprecedentedly large demonstration planned by Rukh to bring home its demands to the members of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet. During its preparation, official and unofficial publications argued—contradicting one another—the rightness of their views on the republic's most pressing questions: Why does a decision by the Ukrainian parliament not lead to a better life for the people in the republic? Where is the end to the endless lines for staple goods? Who is to be held responsible for the empty shelves when there is an unprecedented harvest?

Sensing the mounting tension in society, the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium issued an appeal to citizens just prior to the rally. It said notably that the Presidium "considers the conclusion of a Union treaty to be premature" until the adoption of the new Constitution. But this appeal did not, alas, lower the pitch of emotions in Kiev or the republic. The slogans "No to a Union treaty!" and "Give the Ukraine freedom!" were perhaps the most widespread in the crowd of demonstrators moving along Kreshchatik.

I am a native Kievite and have to admit that postwar Kiev has never seen such a large procession before. Rukh representatives told me that there were several thousand blue and yellow national flags alone carried by demonstrators. The column, which numbered at least 100,000-120,000 people, took two hours to march along the central streets.

The procession passed without any excesses, but this did not ease the republic inhabitants' anxiety about the morrow. The demands for the resignation of certain leaders, for the voting out of Supreme Soviet deputies from whole oblasts, for the depoliticization of all state establishments, the Army, the KGB, the Ministry of Internal Affairs... were expressed in very tough language at the rally in Kiev.

On 1 October, the opening day of the republic Supreme Soviet session, the resolution of the previous day's rally containing the aforementioned demands was handed to parliamentarians. No one today is venturing to forecast how this will affect the deputies' subsequent work. The point is that yesterday's psychological pressure on parliamentarians was further augmented today by a political warning strike being held in Kiev, plus a nationwide demonstration. At 1000 hours as I file this report, traffic is at a standstill on Kreshchatik and participants in the strike and nationwide demonstration are arriving here in a constant stream. I was informed at the city strike committee that dozens of city enterprises had stopped, including the Korolev production association, "Elektronmash," a gearbox plant, and taxi pools—some for 30 minutes, others for the whole day. But no one is yet able to report whether the strike is republic-wide, as its organizers planned....

The situation is undeniably uneasy. The decision by the Ukrainian Student Union to erect a tent city in downtown Kiev at this very moment will clearly add fuel to the flames. Students from several universities and institutes have decided to take turns living in it and to seek to get the acceptance of their political demands—nationalization of the property of the Ukrainian Communist Party and the republic Komsomol [Lenin Communist Youth League], adoption of a law terminating the powers of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, and the setting of new elections....

Yes, it it is not easy now for Ukrainian parliamentarians, it is difficult for strikers and demonstrators and it is frankly hardgoing for the militia. To the latter's credit it should be said that they are conducting themselves irreproachably. Exemplary order prevails in the Ukrainian capital. To alleviate the militia's work the Kiev City Soviet Presidium even introduced a "dry law" in the city: On 1 October the sale of all alcoholic drinks was forbidden throughout the capital.

Poor Response to Strike

LD0210153890 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] [Announcer] The hopes of those who wanted to shake the Ukraine on the first day of October with a large-scale strike did not come true. According to reports from the republic, comparatively few people responded to the call. In the capital, Kiev, not a single labor staff stopped work. Only in parts of the western Ukraine working people went on strike. A number of companies in the Lvov, Ternopol, aand Ivano-Frankovsk regions did not function, some of them only part of the shift. Our reporter has the details:

[Unidentified reporter] The labor action was timed to the beginning of the parliamentary session. Half an hour before the beginning thousands of demonstrators rallied in front of the building of the Ukrainian parliament. They carried posters calling for the dissolution of the Supreme Soviet, resignation of the government, the Republic's secession from the Soviet Union, and the disbandment of the Communist Party. One could also witness chaotic scenes in parliament where radically minded MP's—who constitute about one-third—demanded the resignation of the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Leonid Kravchuk and Prime Minister Vitaliy Masol. Kravchuk said: We hear demands to dissolve, but we will not agree to that. There are thousands of people chanting outside the parliament building while we were elected by millions.

The MP's who spoke after him called for discussing the main items on the agenda of the session in a constructive spirit. The overwhelming majority of the MP's supported this proposal. A rally was held in the major mining center of Donetsk at the initiative of the local strike committee. Representatives of the mines, plants, and organizations took part. They demanded the closure of the Chernobyl nuclear power station and the solution of the economic problems of the Donetsk coal basin. They spoke against signing the new Union treaty without a referendum, demanded the nationalization of the property of the Communist Party, and establishment of workers' control over the privatization of companies. Workers are afraid that with the transition to market relations, coalmining will lose state subsidies. This is what a participant in the rally, a member of the local council, Yuriy Boldarev, told our reporter:

[Begin recording] [Boldarev, in Ukrainian with superimposed English translation] Attempts to strangle the transition to a market with our hands are doomed to failure. We want all opponents to the transition to realize that subsidies and a market ar quite compatible. In the whole world the coal industry, with the exception of probably the United States, is subsidized by the government. We are working mostly for the Soviet market and I think soon everyone will realize this, but I should like to emphasize that you should not criticize people for expressing their national feelings now. They have the right to do so. [end recording]

[Announcer] As you see, nothing came out declaring a general strike in the Ukraine. Even where it was declared a fact, normal work continued. The managers of leading companies turned down radio reports about industrial action by their employees. So the mocked first day of the parliamentary session in the Ukraine became a good lesson for both MP's and voters, many of whom could not answer the question what the parliament has done wrong.

Strikes Cost 14 Million Rubles

LD0210031690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2105 GMT 1 Oct 90

[Report by L. Yasho from Lvov from the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] It was known a long time ago that a number of Ukraine political parties and organizations had planned to hold an all-republican strike today but, literally at the start, appeals to refrain from striking appeared in many newspapers. Yet rallies and brief strikes were held today. The demands: not to permit the Ukraine to sign a new Union treaty; the dissolution of the republic's present supreme soviet; and the resignation of the government.

Whatever one may think of these demands, one is—to put it mildly—doubtful about the logic of protests against a Union treaty which after all simply does not exist yet. One more thing about the strikes: this year they have caused the Ukraine about 14 million rubles in losses.

Tarasyuk Interviewed on Hungarian Relations

AU0210115190 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 27 Sep 90 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Boris Tarasyuk, head of the Secretariat of the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry, by Laszlo Sandor in Kiev; date not given: "Arpad Goncz Visits the Ukraine"; first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Text] On the occasion of President Arpad Goncz's visit to Kiev, we interviewed Boris Tarasyuk, who was in charge of the preparatory committee for our president's visit.

[Sandor] To what extent has the proclamation of Ukrainian independence changed the republic's foreign policy?

[Tarasyuk] The declaration of independence of 16 July stipulates that, on Ukrainian territory, precedence is given to the laws of the Ukrainian Supreme Council. Furthermore, the Ukraine wants to be a zone free of nuclear weapons, and a neutral state that plays an active part in the development of European cooperation. The Ukraine wants to develop bilateral relations based on equality with its neighboring countries, (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Romania,) first of all. Due to our location on the banks of the Black Sea, we can also add Turkey and Bulgaria to that list.

[Sandor] Hungary was the first country to seek direct contact with the Ukraine. In the immediate future, what diplomatic consequences could spring from our cooperation?

[Tarasyuk] We very much appreciate Hungary's exemplary readiness to raise our bilateral relations to a higher level. We grant much importance to Mr. Goncz's negotiations in the Ukraine. Hungary does have a consulate in Kiev, but it was accredited to the Foreign Ministry of the Soviet Union. It would be possible to accredit this diplomatic mission to the Ukraine.

[Sandor] For a long time now, Hungary has been trying to establish a consulate in Sub-Carpathia.

[Tarasyuk] It would no doubt be easier to deal with this issue if our diplomatic relations were raised to a higher level.

[Sandor] In this ebullient Soviet Union, where national minority quarrels and clashes erupt every day, the multinational region of Sub-Carpathia looks like a peaceful island, seen from Moscow. Does that legacy still exist?

[Tarasyuk] Similarly to your government, the Ukrainian Government considers the implementation of national minority rights as a fundamental human right. Personally, I work with Hungarian experts in various committees who try to elaborate the legal guarantees relating to national minority rights. You called Sub-Carpathia a peaceful island, and I agree with you. Naturally, we want to expand the political and cultural options open to the national minorities living in Sub-Carpathia, rather than demolish these options.

[Sandor] Despite your good will, however, things do not always work out. If we look at what we have achieved, we notice that the simplified border crossing formalities have already been suspended....

[Tarasyuk] The suspension of the simplified border crossing formalities was not a Ukrainian decision, and the reasons for the suspension were not political; the suspension was implemented because of technical and economic difficulties. We are going to do everything in our power to make this suspension as short as possible.

[Sandor] Let me conclude on our economic relations.... Do you think that bilateral Ukrainian-Hungarian economic cooperation has a future?

[Tarasyuk] Just like Hungary, the Ukraine looks toward the West, first of all. While the total volume of trade conducted between the Soviet Union and Hungary will drop where we convert into dollar accounts, however, I do not see why we should not strive for a maintenance of current Ukrainian-Hungarian relations, at least. Hungary is also perfectly aware that a great number of enterprises have been granted independent trading rights. The consequences of this change will only become truly visible in the future. Our involvement in the market gives us the opportunity to gather better information, and to conduct trade without bureaucratic interference. We are certainly interested in placing our economic relations on a new basis, as well as in developing these relations.

Ukraine Criticizes Romanian Smuggling Controls

LD2809183490 Moscow TASS in English 1640 GMT 28 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Znamenskiy]

[Text] Kishinev September 28 TASS—The intranquil atmosphere has been prevailing on the Soviet-Romanian section of the state border ever since the day in May when about 200,000 Soviet and Romanian people met for the "Flower Bridge Over the river Prut" festival.

The festival was prompted by a desire of the two peoples to strengthen good-neighbourly relations, develop cultural and economic contacts and live in peace and accord.

But not all participants brought with them flowers and souvenirs. Some tried to strike smuggling deals.

As of today, there have been more than 300 violations of the border regime by both Soviet and Romanian people. In groups and individually, smugglers cross the waterway, smuggling electrical goods, household appliances, gas containers, and food to Romania, and batches of garments, obviously intended for profiteering, into the Soviet Union.

All this happens against a background of the sharp decline in the participation of local population in the protection of the state border. The principle which was once reckoned immutable, namely, that the Soviet border is protected by all Soviet peoples has ceased to be true.

Commenting on the developments on the Soviet-Romanian section of the state border, Lieutenant General V. Gubenko, commander of the troops of the western border district, told TASS as follows:

"What now takes place here is an illustration of the low effectiveness of the law 'On the State Border of the USSR'. It just does not work in the current situation. Legal acts, in the observance of which primarily the residents of border areas would be interested, are necessary.

"Together with a group of officers from the district, we met most of representatives of local councils in border areas, directors of farms and residents. We jointly determined matters which must be worked out: To begin with, a border crossing procedure for people from border areas should be streamlined.

"With this end in view, we should have an additional number of checkpoints, capable of quickly and at any time checking the identity papers of both Soviet and Romanian people crossing the border for reunions with relatives and or by invitation.

"Moldavian President Mircha Snegur regarded with understanding our problems when I told him about the situation at the Soviet-Romanian section of the state border.

"He pointed out in particular that the process of democratising the border regime should be developed further. First of all, the state of affairs at the border should be put in order, he said. Additional legal acts, the drafting of which has already been started, are essential for that, "Gubenko said.

Kiev To Set Up Employment Exchange Network

PM0210154590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Sep 90 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report under the general heading "Telephone, Teletype, Telefax"]

[Text] Kiev—The Kiev Soviet Executive Committee has discussed the question of instituting in the city a state employment serivce which will include city and rayon labor exchanges. It is predicted that there will be more than 160,000 people unemployed in connection with the switch to the market economy in the city. In order to pay them benefits it has been decided to use money received from enterprises and organizations, public associations, and individual citizens.

Lvov Goods To Be Sold for Chits Starting 1 Nov

LD0310143290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1230 GMT 3 Oct 90

[From the "Television news Service" program]

[Text] From 1 November trading in virtually all goods in Lvov Oblast, with the exception of milk and bread, will be done for chits. This is a new currency making up 60 to 70 percent of the wages of the oblast's inhabitants.

Ukrainian 'Clamorous' Rukh Rally Criticized

90UN2874A Kiev RABOCHAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Sep 90 p 3

[Article by RABOCHAYA GAZETA correspondent I. Pashchuk: "Who Shouts the Loudest"]

[Text] Lokachi, Volyn Oblast—On 8 September 1990 RABOCHAYA GAZETA reported on a large rally in the village of Novyy Zagorov in Lokachinskiy Rayon, Volynia under the title "Not To Eclipse the Truth"; the rally was dedicated to the memory of an innocent fellow villager tortured by the cutthroat followers of Bandera. Two days later—last Sunday—representatives of Rukh [Ukrainian's People Movement for Perestryka] associations and various new social organizations conducted their own rather clamorous rally action here at the walls of the demolished former Nativity of the Virgin Monastery.

As early as Saturday afternoon the workers at the local Pershe Travnya kolkhoz [collective farm], who were working in the fields and in their truck gardens or were occupied with various farm errands in the courtyards, observed a strange scene: Cars and buses with license plates from neighboring and distant oblasts were converging on the monastery town. The stream of vehicles increased on Sunday. Some of the visitors conducted themselves in a manner unbecoming to guests. For instance, an "Ikarus" with license plate 00-91 IFN from Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast stopped at the kolkhoz office. Several young men jumped out of it and barbarically tore down the red banner which had waved for years next to the village board of honor. N.F. Stasyuk, chairman of the kolkhoz, noticed this, and some time later the banner was again returned to its place. What should such conduct be called? It would be interesting to see how these guests would act if an uninvited visitor took over their homes in such a carefree manner.

As the actions of the visitors clearly demonstrated—and several thousand of them gathered with yellow-and-blue and red-and-black flags, slogans, and all sorts of transportation—the main goal was to loudly declare the supposedly noble role in history of the Western Ukraine self-defense detachments of the so-called Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), and of course of the latest political attacks on the CPSU and the soviet organs of power. And the "insurgents" were praised for their participation in the "first great heroic battle" with the Nazis, which took place here in September 1943 under the command of "Captain Bereza," during which 29 people died. And this "feat" has been trumpeted to the skies as proof of the fact that the Ukrainian Insurgent Army never collaborated with the Nazis. But this evaluation is not borne out by other indisputable facts. For example, archive photographs which show, in part, the cavalry march of the "Ostap" unit and a certain joint gathering during the occupation, irrefutably prove that the "insurgents" did not disdain going proudly into action under the Nazi swastika as well.

And here is one more clear example. An "insurgent" strolled grandly among the people dressed in a uniform and in full bandit equipment, with a "submachine gun" on his neck, "grenades" around his waist, and a knife in the top of his boot. This was also a significant feature of the rally, but there was no reaction to it from those who stood in the group of leaders or from those who repeatedly cried out their favorite word "shame."

What were the organizers of the rally saying? There was unlimited praise in honor of "the greatest heroes of the Ukraine" as T. Pasechnik, a member of the URP [Ukrainian Republican Party] from Kharkov, expressed it; Father Roman from Chervonograd said in a sermon that "songs should be sung, poems should be composed, and books should be written" about them because, in the words of M. Zelenchuk, former lieutenant of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army from Ivano-Frankovsk, "they inscribed in gold letters a memorable page in the history of the Ukraine." However, without a single concrete fact all the other speeches vilified all those who opposed the Bandera debauch. They were called "enemies of our people" because, you see, they did not permit the followers of Bandera to carry out their dark bloody orgies everywhere with impunity. The speakers at the meeting went so far as to say that it was not the families of victims of the Bandera followers, in memory of whom a rally had taken place two days before, who were buried in the graves next door in the village cemetery but "disguised members of the NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs]." They said that there is no human blood on the hands of the nationalists. But it would be worth stopping into any hut in the surrounding villages and in almost all the population centers on Western Ukrainian lands for witnesses to affirm the opposite. When they speak about "gaps" in the historical record, why do they again distort indisputable, bitter facts and events in their own way?

N. Porovskiy, republic people's deputy, revived an old plan that was used until people were sick of it during the election campaigns and many other rally actions. He called upon those present to come to Kiev on a work day of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet and support the deputies of the Democratic Bloc by picketing as they have done before. Republic People's Deputies S. Khmara, V. Chervoniye, and A. Gudyma gave speeches, relying upon the cheap support of the people to further their ambitions for power as well. A. Gudyma proposed driving to Lutsk and picketing the building of the party obkom [oblast committee] which was done some time later.

Many who had heard enough of the endless shrill repetitions in the speeches and the same old wordy arguments began to leave the hills of the monastery long before the meeting was finished. And this was the first fair evaluation of the rally which was imposed on the people by the leaders of the newly-declared public organizations and which changed from a rally in memory of war victims into boring chatter.

It would be interesting to find out who paid the substantial transportation expenses—a taxi even drove from Lvov, from Automotive Transportation Enterprise 34606 with license number 37-50 LVA—and who paid for the liters of gasoline that were consumed by buses and cars and of which there is not enough for the needs of the national economy. But no one asked this question. The people in Novyy Zagorov, alarmed by the autumn events, just watched with bitterness those who so thoughtlessly wasted the precious autumn days.

Yalta Crowd Demands Removal of Tatar Tent-City

LD0110220790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 1 Oct 90

[Text] In Yalta today a crowd of local inhabitants gathered near the building of the city Executive Committee and demanded the immediate elimination of the Crimean Tatars' tent-city picket.

On the night of Saturday to Sunday, the pickets willfully seized a vine plantation near the Krasnokamenka settlement. And it was that which served as a pretext for retaliation.

Leaders of the city Executive Committee tried to settle the conflict by peaceful means, but to no avail. The crowd tore down the tents and only the intervention of the militia averted a fight and bloodshed on a mass-scale.

Along with their property, the inhabitants of the tent city were transferred to and housed temporarily in a settlement on the south shore of the Crimea.

At an extraordinary session, the Yalta Executive Committee gave representatives of the Crimean Tatars a guarantee that they would be given plots of land for building before the end of this year.

Miners, Others Attend Donetsk Secession Rally

LD0110225190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 1 Oct 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Our correspondent Gennadiy Kondaurov reports on how events developed earlier today in Donetsk:

[Kondaurov] Taking part in the meeting there were not only miners, but people of other professions and veterans too. Appeals by Democratic Rukh [Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka] and representatives of some other new parties to seek to achieve the Ukraine's secession from the USSR clearly did not meet with widespread support here. But representatives of the CPSU and party workers were also unable to win the support of those gathered for the correctness of their convictions and actions, and failed to achieve mutual understanding with those taking part in the meeting.

The most important question for the miners who are both present here today and working is the question relating to the market economy and the fate of the mines under a market economy. So what is your attitude toward the market?

[Yu Boldyrev, deputy of the oblast soviet] The thing is that our attempts to throttle the transition to the market are doomed. We would like all those who are opposed to the market to clearly understand that in fact subsidization and the market are entirely compatible things and that throughout the world the coal industry, with the exception of the United States perhaps, is state-subsidized. Our destiny is after all the domestic union market. I think that everyone will understand this soon. But I stress again that there is no use condemning people because they are now demonstrating their national feelings, they are entitled to do so.

Officially Sponsored Ukraine Peasant Union Set Up

PM3009192390 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Sep 90 p 2

[Report by correspondent Yu. Kulibaba: "'Banana' Congress; Odessa Prepares for Ukrainian Peasant Union Constituent Congress"]

[Text] We have learned from unofficial sources that a diesel ship carrying bananas has arrived in Odessa nevertheless. Delegates to the Ukrainian Peasant Union Constituent Congress will be able to judge the accuracy of this information 25 September—the day the forum opens. But it is clear even now that an enormous amount of organizational work has been done.

Instruction No. 54 appeared at the end of last month, bearing the signature of M.Ya. Sidorenko, chairman of the Ukrainian State Agro-Industrial Committee, and spelling out in detail which of his subordinates are responsible for what. It contains a great many points. Preparation of a report and draft resolution, nominations for the presidium, editorial commission, and accounts commission, a list of the names of the leading workers invited, and duplication of the documents to be adopted by the congress....

At a meeting with Vladimir Bondarenko, a journalist from one of the republic's youth newspapers, I.I. Yemets, senior secretary of the Ukrainian Kolkhoz Council—a subdivision of the republic's State Agro-Industrial Committee—said:

"The union is being formed at grassroots level on the people's initiative. That is the stage we have reached—there is nowhere else we can go. The countryside is going to ruin before our very eyes! That is why the Kolkhoz [collective farm] Council Presidium approved people's proposals and decided that a congress must be convened. We will protect the peasantry against the government, parliament, and bureaucrats.

"A total of 650 delegates have been invited. It is planned to have just one apparatus for the Kolkhoz Council and the Peasant Union. It will probably be increased to 23 members; there are 12 at present. The membership fee will be three rubles, or one ruble for new members. We intend to leave half of these resources at the disposal of primary organizations."

Obviously a new peasant party is being formed as an alternative to the existing Ukrainian Peasant Democratic Party. So how do they differ from one another? Here is the opinion of V.A. Pleshko, cochairman of the Ukrainian Peasant Democratic Party responsible for the southeastern oblasts:

"Our main tasks are to stop union departments from plundering the Ukrainian countryside; revive its economy, culture, and ethnic identity; and restore the land to the peasantry.

"We do not support extremist actions, nor do we intend to artificially create confrontation with the CPSU. But we do feel there is a need to fight the apparatus and the new structures it is trying to create."

Ukraine 'Greens Party' Open Constituent Congress

LD2909045190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1635 GMT 28 Sep 90

[Report by UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Yuriy Zabolotnyy]

[Text] Kiev, 28 Sep (TASS)—The constituent congress of the Ukrainian 'Greens' Party (PZU) opened here today. Opening it, USSR People's Deputy Yuriy Scherbak, chairman of the Ukrainian ecological association 'Zelenyy Svit' [Green World] noted that the main argument in favor of establishing the PZU is the critical situation of the Ukraine in the sphere of ecology, culture, spirit and morale, a situation which demands resolute political action for the sake of the survival of the Ukrainian people.

The idea of setting up the PZU arose in 1989 in the more radical wing of the association. The formation of the political party, in the view of the initiators, will not lead to a split in the association which will continue to act as a broad-based public association. The PZU, however, should become a Ukraine-wide, national party which acts resolutely against inter-ethnic enmity, and opposes the artificial division of people of ideological or regional grounds. The new party also advocates holding multiparty elections and the complete de-ideologization of public life.

For three days, almost 250 delegates and guests of the congress are to discuss and adopt the PZU program and rules. Three alternative drafts to these documents have been presented for the congress to consider. The leading bodies of the party will also be elected.

Constituent Congress Ends

LD0110131290 Kiev International Service in English 0000 GMT 1 Oct 90

[Text] Today, a constituent meeting of the Green Party has ended its work in Kiev. The delegates used three alternative draft programs of the party to work out a single compromise variant. As a result, the rules and program of the Green Party have become more democratic. Congress delegate Anatoliy Panov shares his views concerning the tasks to be solved by the Ukraine's Green Party.

[Begin Panov recording in Ukrainian fading into English translation] We view our party as part of the strong left-wing centrist bloc. The flag of our party has not only green but blue and yellow colors as well. It means that we shall work for independent Ukraine. Our political credo is humanism, the priority of eternal human values over the ideological dogmas. This is why our methods are the methods of active public actions, political polemics, appeal to the principles of direct democracy, the holding of nationwide and local referendums on our future, the ecological future, the future of nuclear power stations and other enterprises which pollute environment. [sentence as heard] We consider that our party should be the party of parliamentary type. We shall carry out the bulk of our activities in the political clubs which are being set up in the cities, districts, villages, at the enterprises. This is the principle of a confederation, that is maximum freedom and absence of centralization. [end recording]

Ukraine Republican Party Outlines Positions

LD2909130190 Moscow TASS in English 1227 GMT 29 Sep 90

[Text] Kiev September 29 TASS—Ukrainian republican party leaders and people's deputies of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic L. Lukyanenko, S. Khmara and O. Shevchenko gave a news conference here today.

They noted that the Ukrainian Republican Party worked to build an independent Ukrainian state, disband and ban the Ukrainian Communist Party, secure the republic's cessation from the USSR and opposed the present composition of the republican parliament and government.

The speakers dwelt on a national demonstration and a warning political strike, which are planned to be held on September 30 and October 1.

Karl Marx Monument Dismantled in Ternopol

LD0210120690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] A monument to Karl Marx has been dismantled in Ternopol [Ukraine]. This decision was made by a session of the city soviet of people's deputies. Monuments to Lenin and Zatonskiyk, chairman of the Galician revolutionary committee, have previously been dismantled in the oblast center.

Explosion Occurs at Lenin Monument in Feodosiya

LD0210184490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1719 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Report by UKRINFORM-TASS Correspondent Lev Ryabchikov]

[Text] Feodosiya, Crimea, 2 Oct (TASS)—On the night of 1 October an explosion took place near the monument to Lenin on Privokzalnaya square. An explosive device weighing about five kilograms damaged the granite pedestal and also the bronze sculpture.

This happened several hours after a rally in defense of the memory of the founder of the Soviet state had been held in Feodosiya. Speakers at the rally condemned attempts at revising Leninism and distorting the role of the leader of the October revolution in history. Representatives of the destructive forces tried to organize their own rally at the same square but there were too few people wishing to listen to them.

An investigation into the explosion has been opened.

New Evening Paper Published in Zaporozhye

PM3009190590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Sep 90 First Edition p 6

[Report by Stringer I. Sergeyeva under "Tickertape" rubric: "First Issue of Evening Paper"]

[Text] Citizens of Zaporozhye have been awaiting a city evening newspaper for many years. The USSR Law on the Press and Other Media helped its dream be realized. The first issue of the citywide evening paper NASH GOROD has now been published.

The publisher is the "Glasnost" association, to which the largest enterprises and organizations of Zaporozhye belong. The association has assumed part of the expenses of the subscribers itself.

New Church Weekly To Be Published in Lvov

LD0310134690 Moscow TASS in English 1336 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Report by UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Igor Bachun]

[Text] GOD WITH US is the name of a new religious weekly to be published in Lvov, Western Ukraine.

The newspaper's publisher is Metropolitan Vladimir Sternyuk of the Greek Catholic Church.

The initial print run of the weekly will be 10,000 copies. The newspaper will seek to inform believers of church events and promote a better knowledge of the Greek Catholic religion and religious rites.

Caucasus

Gorbachev Meets Armenian Church Leader Vazgen

LD0210211490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 2 Oct 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev today received Vazgen I, Catholicos of all Armenians, in the Kremlin at the latter's request:

[Begin video recording] [Gorbachev] I am very glad to see you.

[Vazgen I] Thank you.

[Gorbachev] I received your letter and have read it. Thank you, very much. I will share its contents fully.

[Correspondent S. Lomakin] Strictly speaking this meeting was not official; it was more a conversation between two wise and benevolent men who seek equally hard to ensure peace and well-being for the peoples of their common motherland.

The president and the Catholicos of all Armenians believe the senseless conflict between the two ancient peoples of Armenia and Azerbaijan should end. The economic blockade of Armenia under present circumstances is unthinkable and inadmissable as there is a single economic market in Transcaucasia. The economic links among Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan have been developing for centuries, and their destruction will not bring prosperity to the sovereign states.

His Holiness Vazgen I told the Vremya correspondent in a brief conversation that he was satisfied that he had managed to persuade the Nagorno-Karabakh people's deputies to end the hunger strike they had announced earler.

[Unidentified correspndent] Your holiness, I know you always favor a peaceful solution to the problems between the two republics. What way do you see out of this rather complex situation?

[Vazgen I] I just met with the USSR president and am convinced that he is very concerned with the present situation. I feel the president is trying his best to solve this problem. We are very much interested in preserving friendship among the Transcaucasian peoples, as its origins reach far back in the centuries.

Difference in faith does not divide the peoples; spite and hatred does. By respecting one's own sacred things and those of others, man establishes himself as a man. This is why our destiny and the future of our region lie only in friendship and in understanding one another.

We pray that each people, while preserving its independence, will become part of the common family. That is the only way in which we can build our common home. [end recording]

USSR Presidential Council member Yevgeniy Primakov participated in the conversation.

Vazgen Gives Press Conference

PM0310103490 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Sep 90 Second Edition p 3

[Report by S. Oganyan: "What the Catholicos Thinks"]

[Text] Yesterday we reported on the meeting of various religious leaders at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center in connection with the USSR Supreme Soviet's adoption, in principle [v tselom] of the Law on Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organizations. Yesterday too, Vazgen I, catholicos of all the Armenians, answered journalists' questions.

The press conference began with a statement by the catholicos. Welcoming the audience and wishing them every happiness, he pointed out that Christianity was adopted as the state religion in Armenia in the year 301. The Armenian Apostolic Church has friendly relations with all religions, including Islam. The Armenian Church has particularly good relations with the Russian Orthodox Church. This friendship is many centuries old.

The catholicos went on to say:

"I came to Moscow on a sad mission. The Karabakh tragedy has been going on for more than two years. The people are currently living in a state of emergency. Organs of power have been abolished. Their functions must be restored as soon as possible. This was the demand of the USSR people's deputies from the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and Armenia when they declared their long hunger strike. They were joined by the chairman of the Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast Soviet Executive Committee. They are all children of the Church. I could not remain indifferent to their fate. I came to bless them and persuade them not to continue with their hunger strike. It is a noble goal, but they should choose different methods to attain it. The Armenians of Karabakh want to live according to their own free will. They hope that right, justice, and integrity will triumph."

Since there were foreign journalists present, the catholicos on behalf of the Armenian people and Church thanked the peoples and Churches of those countries that had come to Armenia's aid when the terrible earthquake struck and are continuing to help it to this day.

Then the journalists started asking questions. Answering one of them—how are the two peoples to be reconciled?—Vazgen I said:

"I do not believe that the current situation benefits the Armenians or the Azerbaijanis. Both peoples are living in a state of anxiety at the moment. As a Christian and Armenian I feel deep down that the protracted confrontation must be brought to an end. But I am sure you will agree words are not enough. What is needed is action and resolve on Moscow's part to pave the way to mutual understanding."

Armenian Parliament Discusses Bills, Refugees

LD0210232790 Moscow TASS in English 2224 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Report by ARMENPRES-TASS correspondents Garri Galustyan and Gagik Melkumyan]

[Text] Yerevan October 3 TASS—After a week-long break, the Armenian parliament met in a plenary session on Tuesday to continue the formation of the council of ministers.

The parliament endorsed the heads of almost half of 30-odd ministries and agencies, among them the KGB, the interior and finance ministries, the special committees on the economy, on implementing economic programmes and on food industry.

The main event of Tuesday's session was the decision to form a special governmental agency for Armenian refugees from neighbouring Azerbaijan.

Deputies discussed the bill "On the Government of the Armenian Republic," which will seal the government's status, its functions and programme of activity, the rights and obligations of its members, powers in observing compliance with the law and ensurance of security, defence and defence capability.

Deputies were told the leaders of the Russian Federation and Armenia reached an agreement in Moscow on the continued construction work by Russian organisations in the earthquake zone. Building and assembly work to the tune of 630 million roubles will be accomplished there.

USSR people's deputies, who held a three-week political hunger strike in Moscow in support of the demand that bodies of legitimate power be restored in Nagorno-Karabakh, attended Tuesday's session of parliament. The Supreme Patriach-Catholicos of all Armenians Vazgen the first, on whose insistence they called off the protest action, was present at the session together with them.

Armenian Deputies End Three-Week Hunger Strike

LD0110231490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1622 GMT 1 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow, 1 Oct (TASS)—The three-week hunger strike by a group of people's deputies of the USSR, declared to draw public attention to the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and to the need to restore legitimate authority there, is over, IZVESTIYA reports today.

Participants in this political action were asked to end their hunger strike by the Armenian Supreme Soviet. They also received many letters and appeals from public organizations, artistic unions, and individual citizens.

The hunger strike participants issued a statement which says, in particular: "Subordinating ourselves to the will of the Armenian people, as expressed in the Armenian Supreme Soviet decisions, and fulfilling the request by Patriarch Vazgen I, catholicos of all Armenians, who called upon us 'to receive the wisdom and the guidance and to understand the precept of reason' and who stated that he would not return from Moscow to the Holy Echmiadzin [patriarch's residence] without us, we are putting an end to our political hunger strike."

Academician Viktor Ambartsumyan, president of the Armenian Academy of Sciences and one of the participants in the hunger strike, has already returned to Yerevan.

Surkov Discusses Struggle With Armed Groups

PM0310132890 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Sep 90 First Edition p 1

[Interview with Major General M. Surkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR people's deputy, by correspondent Colonel V. Kaushanskiy; place and date not given; under the heading "No Compromise With Criminals"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Kaushanskiy] Events in the region are too far away from optimistic predictions. What lies beyond the critical point? The next step in the direction of civil harmony or civil war? KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers sometimes find it hard to understand the structure of armed groups operating in Armenia....

[Surkov] It is wrong to associate the present situation in the republic with the entire Armenian nation. That is a mistake. In such a delicate area as interethnic relations, under no circumstances must we constantly make free, indiscriminate use of labels such as "Armenian terrorists" or "Armenian militants." The people have nothing to do with this. And their good name must be protected.

Let us judge all this competently. According to various information sources, there are about 80 different party and social organizations active in the Armenian political arena and they all advocate different views, including some extremely radical ones. The same is true of paramilitary groups. There are also bands of desperate criminals sniffing around Yerevan and getting to know the lie of the land on the border with Azerbaijan.

[Kaushanskiy] In that case who is sowing death, including on the border? The "ideologues" or criminals?

[Surkov] I have never heard of anyone from an Armenian combat detachment taking personal responsibility for a particular action. As is well known, the people firing the shots do not leave their autograph on their artillery shells. However, judging by its statements the republic's parliament is firmly resolved to disarm everyone who does not rise up, figuratively speaking, under its banners. A good intention, but just you try and distinguish one armed group from another. On top of all this, people are still signing up with the local defense force. And this is risky....

[Kaushanskiy] So Armenia is still forming its own national army?

[Surkov] Parliament has given the go-ahead for this. For the present, it has been decided to radically improve and reinforce the Armenian Ministry of Internal Affairs and there are plans to form workers' detachments at enterprises.

[Kaushanskiy] Do you have personal contact with the commanders of militant groups?

[Surkov] Under no circumstances must we avoid attempts to resolve complex issues by political means. The word "contact" is not totally accurate. It would be more true to say forced coexistence or tolerant interaction. Call it what you like. We have real force and so do they. But we have no legal grounds for acting at our own discretion against armed detachments in Armenia: We can only repel a manifest attack or obvious terrorist action against military servicemen. One of the very first statements issued by the republic's new leadership makes it clear that punitive operations by subunits of the Soviet Army and USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs are prohibited. We have been told that we can act in accordance with service regulations while in the territory of military units but that we do not have the right to do so once we are outside that territory. That is where the Armenian Ministry of Internal Affairs and KGB take over. The situation is extremely delicate. Sometimes we have to approach the commanders of combat formations. That happened during an attempt to blockade the republic assembly point. It happened again in January outside Yeraskh. And again when five submachineguns were seized from one of our subunits. They were speedily returned after negotiations. But we must take a sober view of the situation: Isolated incidents do not make the whole picture. An enormous quantity of firearms and military equipment is still not under our protection.

[Kaushinskiy] One question asked by our readers in their letters and on the telephone is this: Why are weapons disappearing from military units? How is this possible? Who is to blame?

[Surkov] First of all, no one is absolving the commanders and political workers of their responsibility for this. The question of vigilance and safekeeping of weapons is their responsibility. Attacks are by no means isolated incidents: There have been more than 50 since the beginning of the year. Three people have been killed and 26 injured as a result of attacks for the purpose of seizing weapons. We are punishing those guilty of negligence and poor security at sentry posts, depots, and so forth. But there are other aspects to this painful problem. First, all attacks are meticulously prepared and carried out suddenly at lightning speed. The logic is simple: Psychologically the soldier is always aware that he is doing service at home, in his own native land, and he does not expect to fall foul of his own people. Second, I will not be giving away any secrets if I say that the raiders make constant use of intelligence: They always know the precise location of warehouses and depots and how the alarm system works. This is no joke. We have been forced to take some counter measures. Moreover, we have recently gone to great pains to strengthen our defense potential. It is a lot of bother but has to be done. I feel sorry for the officers on duty around the clock, torn from their families and with weapons in their hands. I also feel sorry for the soldiers who have to be "thrown in at the deep end." Things will not get better, however, until the situation has been completely stabilized. There can be no compromise with armed criminals. We will very decisively repel their attacks. But it is better to prevent trouble in the first place—primarily by political measures and efficient organization of service. We have already made good progress in this respect. [passage omitted]

Weapons Confiscation in Armenia Continue

PM0210141790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
27 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Where Do the Surrendered Weapons Go?"]

[Excerpts] The confiscation and voluntary surrender of weapons by illegal armed formations is continuing in Armenia. [passage omitted]

At the request of TASS correspondent V. Gondusov, Major General A. Zaytsev, deputy chief of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry Main Internal Forces Administration, commented on the situation in the republic:

"The main reason why the military leadership in the republic appealed to the Armenian Supreme Soviet chairman is the ineffectiveness of the measures to implement the USSR President's Decree. The number of confiscated weapons is a drop in the ocean compared with those that remain in people's possession.

"One cannot help being alarmed by the fact that weapons that have been confiscated or voluntarily surrendered are not ending up in military depots. The USSR President's Decree orders the relevant components of the USSR Defense Ministry to receive and store the weapons, ammunition, explosives, equipment, and other military items. But military depots have not received a single weapon or item of combat equipment."

Armenia Suffering Effects of Gas Blockade

PM0210152390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Oct 90 Second Edition p 1

[ARMENPRES-TASS report under the "Ticker Tape" rubric: "Left Without Fuel"]

[Text] Lessons in schools and educational institutions are on the verge of being disrupted, and kindergartens are closing in Armenia because of the approaching cold weather. Having once again been left without gas, certain enterprises have not been producing output for more than one month now. Just nine rayons in the republic and part of Yerevan have "blue fuel" [gas] only for domestic needs. The blockade of the main pipeline in the city of Kazakh in the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic, through which Russian gas reaches Armenia, has already caused tremendous economic harm to the republic. It runs into hundreds of millions of rubles.

European Delegation Turned Back at Stepanakert

LD0310140990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1339 GMT 3 Oct 90

[Text] Stepanakert, 3 Oct (TASS)—A European Parliament delegation was sent back today from Stepanakert Airport to Yerevan by the commandant's office of the state of emergency region. A spokesperson from the commandant's office told the leader of the delegation that "in connection with the complex operational situation in Stepanakert, it is inadvisable for European Parliament members to stay here, and the commandant's office cannot guarantee their safety."

A TASS correspondent spoke with the European Parliament members. Cuembla Martinz [name as received] from Portugal said in particular that the delegation members "wish only the best for your country. We are in favor of strengthening relations between the European states and the Soviet republics." He is "distressed at such a development of events." "We wanted to see with our own eyes what is happening today in Nagorno-Karabakh. This has proved impossible. I regret this," he commented.

The guests flew back to Yerevan.

Azerbaijan's Aliyev Questioned on Current Issues

LD2909005890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2108 GMT 28 Sep 90

[Report on "retired Politburo member" Geydar Aliyev, incorporating interview with Aliyev by correspondent M. Mamedov; place and date not given—live or video recorded]

[Excerpts] [correspondent] The election of Boris Yeltsin as chairman of the Russian parliament is almost the first case in Soviet history of a politician brought low returning to the peak of power. [passage omitted] But what may happen the day after tomorrow really is unprecedented. Returning from political nonexistence is a figure who seemed to have gone irrevocably into the past. Geydar Aliyev, a retired politburo member a man whose very name has become a symbol of the time of stagnation, is standing in his homeland, the Nakichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic for the parliament of Azerbaijan, an Azerbaijan tortured by conflicts, in the elections the day after tomorrow which are taking place under the conditions of the state of emergency which persists in the republic.

[Aliyev] The preelection program is very broad. It is very difficult to set it forth in a short time. But I think that the main thing now is to lead the republic out of the serious political and economic crisis.

[Mamedov] What methods is Aliyev thinking about using to resolve Azerbaijan's most acute problems, the conflict with Armenia and the Karabakh crisis? In his time he had a reputation as a harsh, if not cruel leader, a supporter of turning the screws and of all kinds of drastic administrative measures. [passage omitted]

Recently Aliyev's name cropped up completely out of the blue in connection with the outbreak of the cigarette shortage, the queues at kiosks, and the tobacco riots. It turns out that when he was first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministes, Aliyev took the self-willed decision, under the banner of combatting smoking, to deprive the tobacco industry of foreign currency allocations when the industry was in acute need of this for reconstruction. As a result—the present crisis. Now it will take 300 million foreign currency rubles to get out of it. [passage omitted]

[Aliyev] I was one of the members of the Politburo who actively proposed the candidacy of Gorbachev for the post of general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. But the fact that he later drove away all the people who elected him, and that there is not one person near him today of those who elected him member—general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee—obviously also says something also. [passage omitted]

[Mamedov] Do you regret that today?

[Aliyev] [laughs] Well, you know it has become so difficult now that it is even difficult for me to say how I should answer that question. In any event he did not justify our hopes. Now I have serious feelings in connection with that fact, that in this party—especially in its leading links—there have turned out to be unworthy people who perform unseemly deeds, including carrying out unjust actions with regard to a man such as myself, as they say, a true soldier of the Communist Party. [passage omitted]

[Aliyev] I know the region well, and I know my republic Azerbaijan well. I know Armenia quite well, too. I am well acquainted with the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous oblast which is a constituent part of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic. I think that that happened as a result of the errors and mistakes made by the leaders of Azerbaijan. But most of all, all of that is the result of the completely unfounded territorial claims on the part of Armenian nationalists. [passage omitted]

[Mamedov] And so the day after tomorrow the question is decided of whether Geydar Aliyev, a person who most people hastened to write off as a political corpse, returns to major politics. It is highly likely that his reanimation will be sucessful. Not just because Aliyev is the only candidate in his constituency just like in the good old days. He has not got a single rival. The main thing, alas, is that many in Azerbaijan are ready to see in Aliyev that strong hand which they have been pining for and for whose sake they are willing to forget everything in the past—corruption, tyranny, the atmosphere of fear and lawlessness. The consequences of the election of Aliyev to the parliament of Azerbaijan may be unforseeable both for Azerbaijan and for all of Transcaucasia.

Azerbaijan Preliminary Election Returns Reported

LD0110183490 Moscow TASS in English 1813 GMT 1 Oct 90

[Text] Baku October 1 AZERINFORM-TASS—Geydar Aliyev, a retired Soviet Communist Party Politburo and former Soviet deputy prime minister, was elected people's deputy of the republic in elections held here on Sunday. Aliyev previously headed the Azerbaijani Communist Party.

The elections were held to name republican parliament deputies and those of local councils.

According to preliminary returns announced by the republican election commission, Aliyev, who was the only candidate nominated in Negram Constituency in Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic, his birthplace, received 95 per cent of the vote.

A republican election commission spokesman told AZERINFORM-TASS that 81 per cent of the electorate went to the polls. Elections were held in 268 of the republic's 349 constituencies.

In some constituencies, all candidates failed to secure the required number of votes and a second round will be held no later than in two weeks.

During the election campaign, 1,193 candidates were nominated in the republic and 1,186 of them were registered. During the first really democratic elections in the republic, representatives from 45 public organisations and movements vied for office.

For the first time ever, public observers from work collectives groups supporting candidates and the democratic block could supervise the elections, although they did not attempt to influence the work of election commissions.

Baku Elections Covered

LD0210033290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 1 Oct 90

[Telephone interview with correspondent Islam Kuliyev by Panarama commentator Yelena Berezovskaya; Berezovskays in studio, Kuliev in Baku—recorded]

[Text] [Berezovskaya] The elections to the republican and local soviets of Azerbaijan have ended. You know, respected radio listeners, that they took place in conditions of a state of emergency which has been in force in Baku since January this year. When the elections were held, Baku was declared a closed city. So my first question to correspondent Islam Kuliyev is whether the capital of your republic is open now.

[Kuliyev] No, you know Yelena Vladimirovna, Baku has been declared closed until 2 October, and only tomorrow will the city perhaps be opened and food deliveries start to come in because the main suppliers are the agricultural areas of Azerbaijan.

[Berezovskaya] It is shame that the elections have caused some additional complications.

[Kuliyev] Yes, of course. People regarded this in their own way. Not in all the districts, not in all the constituences—how shall I put it—are the results as heartening as I would like to have....

[Berezovskaya, interrupting] And people are not in such high spirits, you say.

[Kuliyev] Yes, people are not in high spirits. There were militia at the polling stations, then representatives of the candidates for deputies, that is people empowered to act for them. Then there were representatives of the Popular Front. All this was at the polling stations. Therefore, the situation was by no means ordinary. Or you have not become accustomed to that yet.

[Berezovskaya] We are starting from afar because you most probably do not have precise data on the results of the voting.

[Kuliyev] No, no precise data. Preliminary data will be known at something like the end of the week.

[Berezovskaya] And yet another question. How are things with the nomination of Geydar Aliyev in one of the constituencies in Nakhichevan? In one of the latest issues of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY they wrote that the deputy's mandate of the former Politburo member and member of the CPSU Central Committee is guaranteed. Is this the case?

[Kuliyev] Yes, certainly it was. Geydar Aliyevich was elected on a unanimous vote. He was the only candidate to be nominated. All the republic, the whole of Nakhichevan, the 300,000-strong population voted for him.

[Berezovskaya] Well, now that gives one something to think about, too. Thank you for the news. We shall wait for the results of the elections. Thank you.

Azerbaijan President Appoints Official

LD0110101390 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 14 Sep 90 p 1

[Text] Decree by the president of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] on the appointment of Comrade Mikhail Aziz Nazarov as head of the apparatus of the president of the Azerbaijan SSR.

[Signed] A. Mutalibov, president of the Azerbaijan SSR, 12 September 1990

Baku Halves Sewage Emissions Into Caspian

LD0210034890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2200 GMT 1 Oct 90

[Text] It has been reported from Baku that sewage emissions in the Caspian Sea have been halved, thanks to municipal authorities tightening up the controls over the local industrial enterprises. The reconstruction of all communication of this port has been carried out, and construction of new purification installations has began at the request of the soviet of people's deputies.

Georgian Communist Election Manifesto Outlined

PM0210150590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Sep 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent V. Kaushanskiy: "Program Published"]

[Text] Tbilisi—The second round of the Georgian Communist Party Congress will be held after the elections to the Georgian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet scheduled for the end of October. This decision was recently made by a plenum of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee, and on 26 September the press published the election program of the Georgian Communist Party, which will be fighting for seats in parliament along with 34 other parties and social organizations. The program's preamble states that the Communist Party will be participating in the elections as an independent political organization and bases its relations with all other parties—both in Georgia, outside Georgia, and including the CPSU—on equal rights for all parties.

Taking account of the current rather difficult situation in Georgia, Communists are calling on all the republic's progressive forces to unite the interests of society's renewal with common national interests. The party intends to elaborate and adopt a new Georgian constitution and to restore full state independence for the republic by developing and implementing a corresponding constitutional mechanism. One's attention is drawn to the fact that the Communists have also included "military" issues in their program.... In particular it is planned to create national services to protect legality, public order, and state security, and to set up national troop formations. One of the points in the document is the adoption of a corresponding legislative act allowing the republic's citizens to do their compulsory military service on Georgian territory.

Georgian Congress Elections Extended to 2 Oct

LD0110205690 Moscow TASS in English 1844 GMT 1 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Zurab Grdzelishvili]

[Text] Tbilisi October 1 TASS—Elections to the National Congress of the Soviet Transcaucasian Republic of Georgia, which began on Sunday, have been extended into Monday.

Deputy chairman of the Central Election commission Giya Mchedlidze told TASS that the move was prompted by "difficulties with the printing of new election bulletins after the original ones were destroyed in the September 19 attacks on the headquarters of some political parties, grouped in the coordination centre".

He said the authorities in several cities and a number of educational establishments "failed to fulfil their promises to allot part of their premises for polling stations. This is why polling stations had to be enlarged".

Mchedlidze said polling stations in several districts of Tbilisi, Georgia's capital, had been raided and that distributors of election bulletins had been assaulted.

According to Central Election Commission estimates, more than 50 per cent of the republican population will participate in the elections.

The final outcome will be made public before October 10.